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BY

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COUNSELLOR OF THE CONSISTORY, AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN BERLIN.

Translated

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FIFTH BOOK.

THE CRISIS.

CHAPTER III.

DEMAND FOR A SIGN.

ONCE again Jesus appeared in the synagogue at Capernaum (John vi. 59), pointing out the fulfilment in His person and appearance of some prophetic utterance, and demanding faith from His auditors. The same multitude which then filled the synagogue had often applauded such words heartily on other occasions, reading into them the approaching fulfilment of their fairest hopes. But now all had changed. Jesus was listened to with ominous silence. What mattered the finest sounding words, when, so soon as it was necessary to confirm them by deeds, He shrank back disheartened? How could He demand belief in a divine vocation whose consequences He was not prepared to accept? And yet, might there not be a possibility of neutralizing the self-renunciation of yesterday by the pretensions of to-day? Might He not have good reasons for delaying to take the final step? perhaps because He desired to increase the company of the faithful, or to prepare the people for the great decision they had to make. In this way the people were taken possession of by one thought. If Jesus would not do the only thing which in their eyes could make Him the Messiah, if He would not permit them to proclaim Him king, and yet demanded belief in His Messianic mission, He must be compelled to give them some kind of guarantee for the ultimate fulfilment of the prophetic promises, as well as some specific token that would accredit Him as the Messenger whom God was to send during the promised salvation era. A token, let us have a token! was the universal cry. This would have satisfied them for the time being. Jesus therefore had scarcely finished when He was met with the question, What then

doest Thou for a sign, that we may see, and believe Thee? (John vi. 30).

In view of the historical situation, this demand for a sign is perfectly comprehensible.[1] From the very beginning the people had been only too much disposed to recognise in Jesus the Chosen of God, who should bring on the Messianic epoch. The fact of their now demanding a token of His Messianic calling, showed that something must have happened to shake their faith; this was what had taken place when they desired to proclaim Him king, and He forbade them. When, in spite of this, Jesus still required of them to believe firmly in His Messianic destiny, they must have thought that surely now He would express Himself as to His calling in some unmistakeable way. That this was so undoubtedly follows from what is indicated as to the kind of sign which they demanded. If Jesus desired to be the second Deliverer of Israel, they required Him to show His legitimation in the same way as the first had done. Moses,

[1] Criticism has ever found a difficulty here which has rather been acknowledged than removed by the rejoinders of apologists. This fact is only a proof how far the usual exposition of the Gospels, and the criticism whose boast is that it is historical, have been from even making an attempt to understand this demand for a sign by having regard to the historical situation. It is said at one time that this demand is altogether unhistorical, at another, in defiance of the most express statements in the Gospels, that there was no connection between it and the feeding of the multitudes, or that the demand was not made by the same persons who had been spectators of that incident. For was it possible that the same multitude who had just been witnesses of that miracle could now again require a sign? And so, too, as occasion requires, the converse conclusion is sometimes come to. It is said that if this demand for a sign were historical, it is then manifest that the feeding of the multitude was no miracle; if the people, as a whole, required miracles from Jesus, and if He publicly refused to grant their request, then this is the clearest proof that He never wrought any, and that it was probably tradition which attributed them to Him, although the real truth was that Jesus constantly refused to do what self-evidently He could not perform. In opposition to this theory, apologetics was obliged to take refuge in the sorry subterfuge that it was the nature of this passion for miracles to be ever unsatisfied, and always calling for greater wonders. But we have seen already that this supposed difficulty is simply owing to the confounding of miracles and signs; that the older tradition clearly distinguishes between Jesus' acts of miraculous power, to which He Himself expressly appealed (Matt. xi. 21-23), and the signs which He declined to give; and that it was the first evangelist, by reason of his peculiar view of their meaning, who first described all Jesus' miraculous deeds as signs (comp. vol. ii. p. 104, note).

However, caused bread to rain from heaven to supply the wants of the wanderers in the desert (John vi. 31). Even the later Jews regarded this bestowal of manna as the greatest of all his miracles, while the Rabbis taught that the Messianic Deliverer would bring manna from heaven just as Moses did (Midr. Coh. 86. 4). Jesus' answer to this was that the heavenly bread given to the people by Moses was very far from being the true bread of heaven. That was now given by the Father for the first time, through the appearance and the ministry of Jesus, in so far as they offered the highest satisfaction for every spiritual necessity. For whoever came to Him would hunger no more; and whoever believed in Him would thirst no more, because his profoundest desires would be for ever satisfied (comp. Matt. v. 6). In Jesus' appearance, therefore, God had actually given them the required sign of the period of salvation having come. It was their own fault when they saw it before their eyes and yet did not believe (John vi. 32–36). In view of such words as these the people must have been staggered by the fact that Jesus Himself repulsed them, and made faith difficult by refusing to agree to their reasonable desires. It is only to some such reproach as this that Jesus' defence can refer, when He said that He repelled no one who came to Him. He Himself could not choose the way in which His Messianic calling was to be fulfilled and the highest salvation brought to the people, and how much less then could He arrange it according to the popular desires! Since His mission was entirely a divine one, His work was only to accomplish His Father's will. That, however, made the salvation of the people and the future consummation of salvation dependent upon the arousing of a new spiritual life (John vi. 37–40). For this reason it was impossible for Jesus to begin by establishing the external kingdom and satisfying their national hopes. The kingdom in which God's will would be realized, and every spiritual want met, had first to be founded in a spiritual sense.[1]

[1] It is highly characteristic of John that he almost entirely removes the chronological reference from the speech, and only gives prominence to the fact that Jesus described Himself as the true bread, which for believers ensures the possession of everlasting life even in this world, and as a

But if Jesus' appearance showed, by its superiority to the Mosaic bestowal of manna, that it alone brought truly permanent satisfaction (comp. Matt. xi. 28 f.), Jesus Himself exhibited another side of the agreement which showed it not less clearly. Even in the synoptic tradition He is at one time represented as describing His calling as the mediation of the highest kind of salvation, at another as the deliverance of the nation from the eternal ruin to which it was doomed on account of sin (comp. Luke xix. 10). And here He shows how the fathers died in the desert notwithstanding the possession of manna, while the true heavenly bread, which He offers to people, saves from death and destruction, and therefore secures everlasting redemption (John vi. 49 f.). It must have been in this connection that Jesus described Himself as the living bread from heaven in contradistinction to inanimate manna. For it was the fact that His person and mission contained the crucial condition and the surest guarantee of that deliverance, which distinguished this last and

necessary consequence in the world to come. The comparison with manna was to John a reference to Christ's heavenly origin (ver. 33), the recognition of which is the first step for finding in Him God's complete revelation as well as true life. The subject of Jesus' announcement, which He had described (vi. 27) as imperishable meat, was ever His own person, and John saw in this speech a more profound interpretation of the miracle of feeding the multitude, and he connected it directly with what had gone before. In the interests of this explanation Baur conceded that this might be mere invention, but he did not observe that the evangelist himself presents a point of connection which has nothing to do with the feeding of the multitude (ver. 30 f.); and when Strauss regarded it as merely a variation of a theme taken from Sir. xxiv., he had not noticed that the only passage there which reminds one of this speech expresses a perfectly contrary idea (vv. 19-21). But even through the veil of John's plainly didactic application of Jesus' words we can catch distinct glimpses of the historical cause for their utterance. A reply like that given in ver. 34, which led to the speech being continued, awakens a suspicion, by reason of its analogy with iv. 15, that the evangelist was unable to recollect the particulars of what happened during the subsequent course of the conversation; but from the turn taken in ver. 37, we can surmise with considerable certainty how it ended. We shall see presently that the evangelist, in connection with his exhibition of Christ's heavenly origin, introduced here an amplification by Jesus which belongs to a totally different connection (vv. 41-46). It is manifest, indeed, that the true theme of the speech is only taken up again in ver. 47, and is there continued in a way which, through all its Johannine amplifications and explanations, shows the fundamental ideas of this proceeding.

greatest of God's revelations, from all revelations of the past, however great were the miracles which accompanied them. It naturally resulted in pursuing this figure, that the eating of heavenly bread was described as peculiar to true disciples who willingly accepted what Jesus came to bring (ver. 5). And we can now understand how it occurred to the evangelist to introduce into such speeches of Jesus his own profound mysticism. According to that, faith produces that immediately personal communion with Christ by means of which the true and therefore eternal life of blessed contemplation of God existing in Him passes to the believer, just as the vivifying forces of bread do to human organism.

But further. In continuation of this figure Jesus spoke of an eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of the Son of man, which could alone procure salvation (vi. 53). Flesh and blood, however, are the special characteristics of the human frame (comp. Matt. xvi. 17), with its weakness and finitude, in contrast to the celestial glory of the spiritual nature. These words referred, therefore, to the believing reception of Jesus' human appearance in the lowly form which was in accordance with God's good counsel. By choosing to describe Himself as Son of man in order to lead away from the conception of a temporal regal majesty, which the people, without exception, connected with the idea of the Messiah, Jesus shows distinctly that He can only be the Mediator of salvation and deliverance for the people when He is believingly received as He presents Himself in the form of a simple, if yet unique, Son of man, and when they shall give up all demands for the appearance of the Messiah in a dazzling regal form. In this connection He points out once more how it was the divine commission which had decreed that His earthly appearance should take this shape and no other, and how it was necessary that it be accepted without reserve. Only when that was done would He show Himself to them as the true bread from heaven, which, superior to that enjoyed by the fathers, is the mediator of eternal salvation (John vi. 57 f.). The evangelist finds in this speech intimations of Jesus' violent death; but that is only his own profound historical view which everywhere sees

the end in the beginning.[1] In truth, however, it was these very explanations which ultimately made that end inevitable. After receiving this answer to their demand for a sign, it must have been more and more evident to the people that no fulfilment of their sensuous political expectations could be hoped for. So soon as this became a certainty, not only was Jesus deserted by the people who had hitherto protected Him, but the popular favour was necessarily transformed into hatred of Him who so bitterly disappointed their fairest hopes. The evangelist has thoughtfully indicated how the change, which was fraught with such momentous issues, was a consequence of these proceedings. In the midst of the conversation he all at once describes as "the Jews" the Galilean multitude, which had hitherto been so enthusiastically attached to Jesus, while usually this designation was only applied by him to those who instigated the unbelieving and inimical opposition Jesus met with in Jerusalem (vi. 41, 52).

Jesus certainly did not speak in the synagogue of the violent death He was to meet with; but there can be no doubt that He had had His tragical end in view ever since the day when He fed the multitudes. Even in the oldest source the first hint of the sufferings which lay before Him must have had close connection with the speeches delivered on the day when the people were fed (Luke xii. 49 f.). We have here

[1] An age which had no inclination whatever for inquiring into the historical circumstances of Jesus' addresses, discovered here dogmatic precepts as to the nature and operation of the holy sacrament, and criticism has deduced from this discovery the perfectly reasonable inference that this speech was the candid work of the evangelist. But it is not possible that the evangelist can have invented *this* explanation, with which—it is hardly possible to see why—he is said to have anticipated the institution of the Supper; this idea is absolutely contradicted, not only by the purport of the words, but by all that he elsewhere teaches concerning the nature and origination of eternal life. Indeed, he always separates the words *flesh* and *blood*, as that only happens in a case of violent death, having manifestly in mind Christ's sacrifice of His life on the cross, which was to bring about the deliverance of the world from death, and therefore to be the mediator of life (vi. 51). Through all his elucidations runs the idea that mystical union with Christ and perfect participation in His life can only be effected by the believing appropriation of the revelation of God's love, which was perfected in the death of Christ (vv. 54–57). This, however, was certainly not the historical meaning of the speech; for Jesus could not have spoken to the people in the synagogue about the significance of His death; at that time no one had thought of anything of the kind, and from a human point of view it was not within the bounds of possibility.

a sigh coming right from Jesus' sorely oppressed heart, which brings vividly before us that early time which was historically the preparation for His Passion. He had once hoped to establish among His people that great kingdom of grace which had ever hovered before the prophets as the final and highest of ideals; now He knew that He had come to throw a firebrand in the midst of the nation, and that sooner or later a conflict must break forth between the portion of the nation which continued unbelieving and His company of adherents. And what if this fire were already kindled! Was this apparent popular faith of any use to Him when there was now not the slightest doubt that it would change into absolute disbelief? Or could He be aided by the ignorant enthusiasm shown by many who were still attached to Him, but which would certainly change into mortal hatred whenever it was evident how bitterly they had been deceived in Him? Was it possible that His own followers were possessed of a faith which Jesus could with certainty expect to stand the test? If that were so, then the sooner the separation and the final crisis came to pass the better; whenever the struggle might begin, which He saw approaching, He would possess tried adherents who regarded faith in Jesus as being worth a conflict. But how then was this crisis to come about? Must the fire not be kindled at His person? Must He not suffer the first attack of the enmity which was rising against Him? Already He heard the rush of those floods of afflictions of which the Psalmist so frequently spoke (Ps. lxix. 2 f., cxxiv. 4 f.), and saw the waters of suffering pass over His head. He beheld Himself immersed in those waves as once upon a time in the Jordan; and just as He then saw the peaceful life passed in His Father's house disappear in that watery grave, so it was now with His life of happy activity, —that vanished to make room for the consummation of His work through patience and suffering. "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" There breaks forth here for the first time a genuine and irrepressible human shrinking from the days that were coming upon Him, and the burdened heart finds a vent in this exclamation for its fear of the dark fate which, however distant it might apparently be according to human

ideas, was to His prophetic glance approaching rapidly. Truly the tradition which has preserved these genuinely human words of Jesus is not a conscious or unconscious production of an inventive phantasy which has only sketched the picture of Jesus' earthly life upon the golden background of Christ's heavenly transfiguration! Only an unusually strong and faithful memory could have awakened the remembrance of such words, which, when spoken, must have been almost completely forgotten, because not understood.

We learn from the older tradition as well that the question as to the sign by which Jesus attested His Messiahship was first broached during the days following the feeding of the multitude. It is immediately after the second of his narratives that Mark reports how the Pharisees began to dispute with Jesus, and to demand from Him a token from heaven, thereby putting Him to the test (Mark viii. 11). This is not a mere variation of the demand for a sign, which we have just heard recounted by John; for in this case the *motive* is quite different.[1] Mark was perfectly right in saying that the Pharisees could only have intended to seek a fresh subject of dispute when they confronted Jesus with this demand; but he is also right when he says that the proposal was not an idle one, but covered serious intentions. According to Mark, they desired to test Him. But, of course, they were convinced that He would not stand the test. They must have thought, indeed, that it was not absolutely impossible that He, whom they had accused of being in league with the devil, would execute some demoniacal spectacle before them, just as He had at other times—as they alleged—

[1] It has been supposed, indeed, that the Pharisees actually wished to forget their old dispute if Jesus would at last consent to declare Himself on the side of the people. But having regard to all that had taken place previously, this idea cannot be entertained. Jesus' position towards their whole practice of the law, i.e. towards all that characterized them as a party, precluded their having any association with Him when once this attitude of His had been clearly set forth, and that had taken place long before. The people in the synagogue desired a sign in order to rest upon that their belief in Jesus' Messiahship; the Pharisees could not believe in His Messiahship, for they could never attach themselves to a man who made no secret of His radical opposition to their views, even if they had every reason for supposing that He wished and had the power to place Himself at the head of the people, and so begin the Messianic revolution.

wrought miracles in the power of the devil. They were evidently aware, however, that in the synagogue at Capernaum He had expressly refused to give a sign, and would therefore not comply with their request on this occasion. In regard to this point the synoptic account of the course of events is only comprehensible if we proceed upon the presupposition of the Johannine narrative. It is clear that this was not, so to speak, a private interview with Jesus. They certainly had not come to Him with this demand in order to give Him the opportunity of dismissing them with a crushing reply. In this case, as on all other occasions when they tempted Him with questions, they had regard to the impression which would be made upon the people. Jesus was to be summoned before all the people to produce His legitimation as the Messiah. If He declined—and they knew He would—He would be dishonoured in the eyes of all as one who had advanced great pretensions, but was not in a position to substantiate them, and who was therefore forced to conceal His impotency by all manner of subterfuges. This would be to give a mortal blow to the still enthusiastic popular esteem for Him. Such was the explanation of the direct demand for a sign from heaven. They had manifestly in view in this one of those signs in the heavens which the prophets had frequently described as harbingers of the great day of Jehovah. Jesus might bid the sun stand still, or become obscured in clear daylight, or He might cause some kind of token to appear in the sky *if He could!*

The plan was not badly contrived, but it came too late. When once the decisive throw had taken place, it must have been Jesus' constant wish to tell how impossible it was for Him to give them a sign of His Messiahship, precisely because He neither was, nor would be, such a Messiah as they desired. For this very reason it was certainly not by accident or owing to a situation having been forced upon Him, that the Pharisees got another opportunity of interrogating Him before the multitude. Once again, Jesus must have intentionally sought the people where they were to be found in numbers, so that the Pharisees found themselves compelled to approach Him under these circumstances.

Perhaps it was at the gathering place of the caravans which had assembled at Dalmanutha,[1] in order to journey in company through Perea to Jerusalem. For Jesus, everything must have depended upon calming the excitement of the people, so that at the feast of Passover it might not lead to revolutionary movements fraught with evil; such agitation would possibly put Him into the hands of the Roman authority before the time. It was only shortly before this, in the synagogue at Capernaum, that He had had practical experience how little inclined the people were to give up the hopes they had placed upon Him, in spite of their undeception after the feeding of the multitudes. And Messianic fanaticism might easily, if once excited, induce the people to revolt in the hope of forcing Him to identify Himself with their cause. But this was not to be; Jesus was obliged to tell them once more that they must not reckon upon Him either then or afterwards. And to this end the interpellation of the Pharisees gave Him the desired opportunity.

Mark describes, in his own vivid way, how Jesus sighed deeply over the malevolence of the Pharisees, whose design He saw through, and how He quitted them abruptly after a curt and emphatic refusal (viii. 12 f.). In a certain sense it was indeed true that Jesus did not bestow another word upon them. But He did seize this opportunity for speaking to the people, in order that He might show them how well He was aware that the intention of the summons was to dishonour Him in their eyes, and how far removed He was from courting popular favour. Even the first evangelist recognised clearly that the answer given to the Pharisees' question must have been that reference to the great sign of Jonah (Matt. xvi. 4), which was found in the apostolic source at the commencement of an important speech to the

[1] The position of this spot, with which Mark connects the reminiscence of this event (viii. 10), has not been hitherto demonstrated with any degree of certainty, for even Magadan, which is mentioned by the first evangelist for purposes of elucidation (Matt. xv. 39), is equally unknown to us. It appears to follow from the connection as it stands in Mark, that Dalmanutha was not far from the south-eastern end of the lake; and, since he says distinctly that the Pharisees came forth to Jesus, it must have been a place in the Perean Decapolis lying beyond the bounds of Galilee.

people.[1] And it is this very address which shows how entirely Jesus ignored the machinations of the Pharisees. He did not proceed upon *their* having demanded a sign, but upon the fact that the existing generation required one,—a fact of which He had just before had experience in the synagogue at Capernaum; and that was why He called it evil and adulterous. The Pharisees had cunningly schemed to detach the people from Jesus, and He began by repulsing them as if of set purpose. Never before had He given utterance to anything so severe; what was said now was explained by those last scenes, and by the experience He had gained of the nation at the crucial moment. This people, which would not give up its earthly wishes, nor cease from following its self-chosen paths, and would not pursue the path God's messenger had pointed out, was impenitent and persistent in its sinful perversity; it had broken the covenant of love and fidelity with its God, Jehovah, and had become disloyal. Such a sign as was demanded could never be granted to a generation like this; indeed, anything of the kind would only strengthen the people in their vain temporal hopes, and harden them in their worldly impenitence (Matt. xii. 39).

And yet there was a sign to be given them; but certainly not at that very moment, nor immediately thereafter; it could only be done when the nation had reaped the final

[1] It is expressly mentioned in Luke xi. 29 that the people were gathering around Jesus in crowds when He began this speech. But since, having regard to the historical view, it cannot be supposed that Jesus uttered such important words on two occasions, once with detailed explanations and once without, we are therefore necessarily directed to the speech in the apostolic source, the form of which can still be established with great certainty from its repetition in the first and third Gospels (Matt. xii. 39-45; Luke xi. 29-36). The purport of the words themselves renders my earlier supposition untenable. That was, that originally they had no reference to a demand for a sign, but to the inordinate passion for miracles displayed by the crowds. A reminiscence is still preserved in both the Gospels of the fact that this speech, which, following the oldest source, Luke xi. 29, expressly describes as an address to the multitudes, was induced by a demand for a sign (Matt. xii. 38; Luke xi. 16). This certainly leads to the conclusion that the source had spoken of some such operating cause. Even in John the same reminiscence operates in the demand for a sign from the opponents of Jesus being described as the occasion of what is said regarding the sign of Jonah (John ii. 18 f.). Comp. vol. ii. p. 15.

consequences of its present behaviour, and when the crisis had come about for which Jesus Himself was preparing by cutting asunder through such condemnation as this the bond existing between Him and it. We are constantly finding fresh confirmation that since the day of feeding the multitude, Jesus had looked with a steady eye at His earthly downfall. A people unfaithful to their covenants would be certain to slay the true Messiah at last. But even that would necessarily be an occasion for God approving Him as His Messiah, before the whole nation, by an unequalled act of deliverance. In this sense the people would one day receive a sign, but it would be no other than the sign of the prophet Jonah, whose miraculous rescue from the depths of the sea was, once upon a time, to the Ninevites a token of his being divinely sent (Luke xi. 30).[1] Thus, from the very beginning, Jesus confidently foresaw His own rescue from death through the Resurrection; and we shall afterwards be convinced that in regard to this point there can be no dubiety whatever, whether attention be paid to the unanimous testimony of tradition or to the nature of the case. It is true, of course, that the people did not regard Him as one miraculously preserved from death; but the apostolic teaching has always used the Resurrection of Jesus as one of the most important proofs for His Messiahship. Jesus did not anticipate that the nation would then comprehend His words; at that time it had no idea of His

[1] There may be doubts as to whether the express declaration which the first evangelist represents Jesus as giving regarding the sign of Jonah (Matt. xii. 40) was really uttered before the people, for, of course, they were fully acquainted with the narrative contained in the Book of Jonah. And this may be held to be dubious, although the three days and three nights, proverbially intended, but by no means literally fulfilled, do not look as if they had been added by a later elucidator. In any case, the reference to the history of Jonah, as given in Luke, is perfectly adequate, and certainly the sign is there understood in no other way. Any mere reference by Jesus in His preaching of repentance to His own self-witness would have been no answer to the demand for a sign, but only empty words, for such preaching of repentance, as had been the prophet's, could not possibly have been an attestation to His own Messiahship, or have been designated the sign of Jonah. But that Luke never thought of this meaning is evident, not only from the purport of the words themselves, but more especially because he has separated what was said about Jonah's preaching of repentance, which manifestly served to elucidate, from the reference to the sign of Jonah.

death, and therefore could not understand a reference to His resurrection. He was content with uttering some enigmatical words, which made the matter so far clear as to show that what He was then obliged to refuse should some day be theirs in all entirety, and that it was not because of His impotence that He then refused it.

But the severe words with which He began, He proceeded to justify. The decision come to by the people was caused by their impenitence and their incapacity for the highest spiritual purport of His teaching, and the same faults made them quite incapable of receiving what was a sufficient sign of His Messiahship. For that reason Jesus cited them before the great last tribunal of His God. There those gross sins of the Nineveh which repented at the preaching of Jonah would pronounce judgment against them for their want of repentance, although they had listened to a far superior preacher of repentance than Jonah had been. A Queen of the South, possessed of everything the heart could desire, had not hesitated to undertake the long journey from the ends of the earth that she might hear the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings x.). And they, who had had a greater than Solomon in their midst, either had not listened at all to the good He had to say, or had done so with deaf ears (Matt. xii. 41 f.). Once before, Jesus had rebuked the impenitence of the cities in which the greater part of His miracles had been wrought (Matt. xi. 21, 23), and had spoken of the foolishness of the people who would not understand the secret of the kingdom of God (Mark iv. 11 f.). This impenitence and non-receptivity were what now prevented them from seeing in Him the Messiah He desired to be, and caused them to demand a totally unnecessary sign of Messiahship. But who then, they must have asked, could this man be, who exalted Himself above the prophets and kings of the Old Covenant; had He not said in the synagogue at Capernaum that He was greater than Moses, and what He gave, better than the manna from heaven? There was no reference in this statement to a divine nature, as the words have often been dogmatically interpreted to mean; but there certainly was to a calling which far surpassed the highest preferments of the Old Covenant—to His calling as Messiah. Whoever,

then, did not gather this much from Jesus' preaching of repentance and of the kingdom of God, because refusing to listen to the message of his God, would get no help whatever from a sign, even if it were the sign of Jonah.

It was undoubtedly true that the nation had at one time promised better. A powerful movement had been felt when the prophet at the Jordan sent forth his summons to repentance, and many had sincerely desired to alter their walk and conversation. It is not improbable that Jesus remembered the fair, early days of His ministry, when the people hung upon His lips and followed Him enthusiastically. The degree of penitence and receptivity which then agitated them had not indeed been mere empty show. But just as the demoniacs, who, once cured, gave themselves afresh to sin, by so doing put themselves again in the power of evil spirits, with the result of their demoniacal condition being greatly intensified, so it would also be with this race, which, after that superficial improvement, had relapsed into still greater impenitence and non-receptivity (Matt. xii. 42–45; comp. vol. ii. p. 79). The allusion to Jonah had already indicated how this must end—it could only be with the death of the Messiah. The speech concluded with another parabolic expression of the folly of demanding a sign of His Messiahship:—No one would light a lamp in order to put it at once under a bushel, for that would prevent it giving light at all; and when God revealed Himself in His Messiah, He must have taken care that His whole activity should be a clear manifestation of this meaning. It was therefore irrational to demand any particular token; He was the sign. Jesus shows here that the light of the divine revelation which had appeared in Him shone with sufficient brilliancy not to require any peculiar token, just as He said on another occasion that a city set upon a hill must be visible because of its position (Matt. v. 14). And in the same way He is constantly represented in John's Gospel as pointing out how His entire ministry bore witness to who He was (John v. 36):—The beholding of this light depends only upon a man having healthy spiritual eyes. As the sound eye gives light to the whole body, or whenever it is affected and the power of vision destroyed, causes man to stumble in the darkness, so

it is manifestly owing to the obtuseness of their spiritual recognition of the truth when they assert they cannot recognise Him to be what He claimed. But if their eyes were evil, *i.e.* if their spiritual eye was diseased, how great must the darkness be in which they groped! Then truly must this evil and adulterous generation be hastening towards irremediable destruction (Luke xi. 33–36 [1]).

In this way Jesus broke with the people of Galilee. They were now to know that there was no longer anything to hope for from Him; henceforth He would be their judge, not their deliverer. Jesus, too, had nothing more to say to them. He entered into a boat with His disciples, and departed for the western shore (Mark viii. 13). Mark has preserved one reminiscence of this crossing, which was important to him individually, from its showing how feeble the disciples' capacity for understanding still was, and how frequently they completely misunderstood their Master (viii. 14–21). Jesus had been more deeply hurt by the malicious intrigues of the Pharisees than His total ignoring of them had permitted His followers to perceive. When the people demanded a sign, they had thought, however mistakenly, that one was necessary. But when the Pharisees did so, they assumed an apparent willingness to believe in order that they might thereby destroy what faith was still left among the people. Though it was undoubtedly only an appearance, yet asking for a sign of His Messiahship seemed to involve a readiness to believe, in the event of this condition being complied with (comp. p. 10, note). But this hypocritical action could only result in envenoming the inevitable conflict which was imposed upon Jesus by the historical circumstances. A considerable impres-

[1] Luke omitted the parable of the return of the evil spirits (Matt. xii. 43–45), because he had really interwoven it into what was said of Jesus' expulsions of demons (Luke xi. 24–26); and the reason for the first evangelist leaving out the closing parables was his having already introduced them into the Sermon on the Mount. Like Mark (iv. 21), he explains the parable of the lamp by the calling of the disciples, for the knowledge bestowed on them was for the purpose of enabling them to communicate it to others, and so to illumine the world (Matt. v. 15 f.); he explains the parable of the eye by the fact that a diseased spiritual eye is not in a position to distinguish whether things are false or genuine, or to recognise the inestimable value of heavenly treasures above temporal (Matt. vi. 22 f.). This was not indeed the historical reference of these parables, but was undoubtedly their profoundest meaning.

sion must indeed have been produced upon the people when the opponents who had hitherto resisted Him now seemed suddenly disposed to believe so soon as He should comply with the popular demand for a Messianic token—a demand which they thereby declared to be perfectly justified. Not less, too, must it have been remarked when they who hitherto had claimed to guide and direct the people, now appeared to connect themselves with the popular movement, and thus to legitimize it. It did not escape Jesus that this appearance of the Pharisees had made a certain impression even upon His disciples; the hope of gaining a large and influential party over to their cause seemed to them quite worth this price. May they not perhaps have had lingering hopes that Jesus would still conduct the people to the goal of their national desires, even though it were to be by ways different from what they had yet anticipated? Must they not have asked, why was it that He refused this reasonable request in which even the authorities now appeared to concur? To Him who had ever at command His Father's miraculous aid, it was surely an easy thing to ask for a token which would establish indubitably in the eyes of all His Messianic destiny. It was because their thoughts were taking this direction that Jesus warned them against the leaven of the Pharisees. The disciples had great need to guard against being deceived by these leaders of pretence, for their whole conduct was animated by falsehood and maliciousness.[1] This figure is taken from the leaven which permeates dough (Luke xiii. 21), and it is worthy of note

1 It is comprehensible that an age to which the historical references of Jesus' words had been quite overshadowed by their universal didactic application gave very different interpretations to this warning. Luke's is certainly the most correct, although we no longer know from what quarter he got his reminiscence, for he has interwoven it fragmentarily into speeches from the oldest source, to which it cannot belong. But he is right in referring its application to the Pharisees alone, and he expressly explains it by their hypocrisy (Luke xii. 1). Mark, on the other hand, shows that he gave the words a far more general interpretation when he represents Jesus as warning His followers against the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod (viii. 15). He is evidently thinking particularly of the pretentious and affected piety of the Pharisees, which was just as wrong as the imperious and worldly frivolity of the luxurious and characterless prince. In this setting, however, the words are perfectly incomprehensible in Mark's connection. The first evangelist makes

that just then, when, in consequence of the feeding of the multitude, bread, in the spiritual sense, had so often been the subject of conversation, Jesus should have made use of this instance.

It was with this pictorial speech that the evangelist connected the reminiscence of a most striking misconception on the part of the disciples[1]:—They had forgotten to provide bread before starting upon a journey to the eastern shore, and not till they were in the ship did they discover they had only a single loaf. They believed that what Jesus' words meant was an allusion to their forgetfulness, for the purpose of drawing attention to the position in which they might thereby be placed, namely, that of purchasing bread from the Pharisees, who were credited with seeking to get quietly rid of a vexatious opponent by a morsel of poisoned leaven (Mark viii. 14–16). Certainly to us this error seems almost more incomprehensible than any figurative language could be to them, especially when we consider that as Orientals, but particularly because of the teaching of the Old Testament in which they were trained, the disciples were far more accustomed to figurative language than we are. But we forget that in daily intercourse with His disciples Jesus had not spoken to them in figures, as was the case in His public ministry. It is true that in regard to any recorded utterance of Jesus *we* presuppose at once that there must be a deeper underlying significance, even when it appears to treat of the common things of everyday life; but sometimes we do not take into

no distinction between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Matt. xvi. 6), and in contradiction to history, he associates the latter with the Pharisees who sought for a sign (xvi. 1), although there were hardly any representatives of the Sadducaic party in Galilee; he reflects, too, quite in Josephus' way (comp. vol. i. p. 288), on the sectarian and mistaken doctrines of both schools (xvi. 12).

[1] This figurative address sounds like a synoptic confirmation of the Johannine speeches about the imperishable food and the bread from heaven, which criticism regards as only elaborations of the evangelist's own. And yet this variance, certified as it is by the older tradition, is more serious than any of the apparently so incomprehensible misconceptions of Jesus' figurative addresses which have given such offence in the case of John. The difficulty in regard to him has been so great that it has even been supposed this was only the form by which the evangelist continued his fictional conversations, perhaps even was the artificial way he chose to illustrate Jesus' acumen in seeing the incapacity of men to understand Him.

consideration that in individual cases the disciples could not know whether Jesus, who frequently spoke to them of temporal things, might not then intend His words to bear a profounder significance. Indeed we have pointed out repeatedly that the reason of this error was frequently no want of intellect, but something radically different. Jesus was not understood, because the people did not wish to do so. And the reason for His giving this warning was because on this occasion the disciples seemed to regard the appearance of the Pharisees as perfectly unprejudiced. They had demanded what the whole people had done, and that must have seemed but reasonable. How could the disciples suppose that Jesus would regard it as a sign of depravity, and would give them a figurative warning against being deceived thereby?

Jesus, however, did not regard their error as an innocent one; this is manifest from His answer, when He blames them for it. It may be that the formulating of this severe reproof is more or less the work of the evangelist, who in this place gathers together once more what he has already said in this section regarding the disciples' weakness of comprehension (comp. Mark viii. 17 f., 21, with vi. 52, vii. 18). But there is no doubt that Peter must have told how sharply Jesus put them right, and how He compared them to foolish people who, having eyes, saw not, and having ears, heard not (Mark iv. 12). But this did not refer to what was merely a mistaken impression. The thoughts he read in their hearts, and because of which he had uttered that warning, were radically the very same thoughts and desires which animated the multitude. It was because they refused to surrender them entirely that Jesus' warning was so difficult to understand. But was it perhaps possible that they actually believed Jesus desired to examine their provisions? He did remind them of the miraculous feeding of the multitude which they had witnessed not many days previously, but of course that was not done that they might think there would be no necessity in future for any anxiety in regard to food, since He had the power of miraculously satisfying their daily needs. He did so that they might acknowledge that He who, after such experiences, had every reason for being raised above care for bodily necessities, would not trouble Himself about the things they were

concerned with, but when He seemed to be speaking on temporal subjects, must be referring to things spiritual (Mark viii. 19 f.). It is certain that the reason of their mistake was not that they had simply forgotten the fact of the feeding of the multitude, but it is equally certain that it was closely connected with their not having understood the profound significance of that action.[1]

This narrative gives a vivid glimpse of the serious opposition which Jesus met with even from His chosen twelve; and we can well understand the exclamation with which He closed, "How is it that ye do not understand?" (Mark viii. 21). For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

[1] This utterance is to us a remarkable confirmation of the historicity of that deed. The form in which the evangelist gives the recorded words speaks of two feedings, but that is no proof, as has been ingeniously supposed, that two actually took place. It is self-evident that the evangelist, who assumed a repetition of the act, must have given a form to the words in correspondence with his idea. There is no likelihood whatever that a narrative can be fictitious which so greatly compromises the disciples, and it is just as improbable that the striking remark can be an invention by which Jesus discloses the foolishness of their error. If it was indeed a divine miracle which enabled Him to feed the thousands, His words had only one meaning.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM CAPERNAUM TO NAZARETH.

ACCOMPANIED by His disciples, Jesus landed at Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22), where He had intended to go on the evening following the feeding of the multitude (vi. 45). Scarcely had He arrived when a blind man was brought to Him with the request that He would heal him by the touch of His hand. It had indeed been always the case that Jesus' appearance was the signal for fresh petitions for aid, and He was ever ready and willing to help. On this occasion everything took place as in other days; but yet how great was the difference! Whenever He saw the blind man, Jesus took him by the hand and led him out of the village (viii. 23). The ordinary guides and leaders of the people did not dare to accompany them. What could be the meaning of this proceeding? In the first place, it was that divine aid might be accorded to a poor sufferer. Jesus wet the eyes of the blind man with spittle, and laid His healing hands upon him. Then taking away His hands, the blind man opened his eyes. Seest thou aught? asked Jesus. And at that very moment by God's miraculous power the light of day began to dawn upon him. He began to see. As yet everything was indistinct and shapeless; but already he thought he could distinguish men; for he beheld forms moving about like trees in size. It is evident, therefore, that this was no case of one blind from his birth, the man must once have been able to see; he had some knowledge of the form of things, and his total blindness had only been produced by an affection of the eyes. Once again did Jesus lay His hands upon the eyes, and under the influence of the healing forces which flowed from them the power of sight was re-established. When the happy man now looked up it seemed to him as if his vision was suddenly able to penetrate the mist which

before had appeared to veil every object and so to exaggerate them disproportionately. The misty environment cleared away, distance came nearer, until God's fair world seemed spread out before him on every side, and he was completely cured (Mark viii. 23-25).[1] We now learn why it was that Jesus led the man without the town. He had come in from the neighbourhood, and Jesus bade him return home immediately, without even re-entering the village (viii. 26). This command can only have been given in order to prevent a rumour of the cure from spreading abroad; Jesus did not desire that the act should give rise to any expectations of His resuming His ministry of healing. He might now and again employ divine assistance on behalf of some single individual, but He had no intention of again entering upon that public ministry which, as the great Physician, He had hitherto exercised. That had lost its true significance since the people had shown decidedly that they misconstrued the Messianic destiny to which it pointed, and were persistent in their misconstruction. A people which would not rightly estimate and employ what He had come to bring was no longer to have what God had in addition prepared for it. From the nation as a whole, however, a considerable company of adherents had long ago been separated; they had been followers of Jesus in His journeys, and must have been profoundly affected by His words. Jesus was now done with the nation; it is true that He returned once more to the scene of His old activity, but that was in order to find out

[1] Instead of regarding this as a vivid description of Jesus' method of healing, which would be in correspondence with the manifest intention of the evangelist, apologetics, at one time with allegorizing acumen, and at another with reflections as to the peculiar exigencies of the case, which are little suitable for a miracle of healing, has given frivolous interpretations of the details, thus making them incredible. In the case of this cure it is indubitably evident that the power of vision, which was restored by a divinely miraculous operation, was gradually strengthened through the influence of natural means as well as of the bodily gift of healing, which was connected with Jesus' unique personality, and that it was in this way the blind man was made perfectly whole. Criticism, however, has at one time regarded this as having something peculiarly mysterious or magical about it, at another as an artificial division of the miracle into its various incidents for the purpose of making clear its full significance, and yet again as an idle trick on the part of the evangelist, who was desirous of crediting the man with his own physiological knowledge or his theory of vision (comp. vol. ii. p. 97 f.).

what impression had been made upon His disciples by the events of the preceding days. It was probably in Capernaum and its neighbourhood that these inquiries were more particularly made.

What Jesus heard was that His words were too severe and repellent (John vi. 60). But the disciples must have questioned whether it was necessary that He should so sternly oppose the popular expectations? Whether it was needful that He should so inexorably refuse their most reasonable desires? No wonder if this were not believed! On once more finding Himself surrounded by a company of adherents, Jesus told them how He had perceived that they were in doubt regarding Him. The reason for this might be His failure in fulfilling their politico-national desires; but if so, it was impossible for Him to give them any hope for the future, nay rather, He could only hold out the prospect of the cause of offence being increased. Ever since the day of feeding the multitude He had known that the days of His earthly ministry were numbered. And what would the consequences be when this earthly life of His to which they attached all their hopes fell a prey to the death He saw approaching inevitably? That would indeed be a fatal blow to every temporal and national desire. For even the miraculous deliverance from death, to which reference had been made in the allusion to Jonah's sign, would not enable Him to take up His earthly ministry again, but would only prepare the way to celestial glory. Nothing was left then but for His followers to learn betimes that the true Mediator of salvation was not to be sought for in the temporal and human form of Jesus with which they connected their Messianic hopes, but in that which even then assured them of salvation and life, as He understood the terms,—in His spiritually animated words. Jesus undoubtedly knew they were still incapable of any such appreciation of the profoundest meaning of His appearance; but the reason of that was not the manner in which He had come and His way of speaking, it was to be found in themselves. Their belief was not of the right kind, indeed in the case of many it was still radically unbelief; for although they acknowledged Him to be the Messiah, yet it was not the Messiah which He desired to

be, but as they wished to have Him. Thus even among His adherents a change began to set in which would necessarily lead to desertion. The evangelist is justified in observing that Jesus, who could read their hearts, knew the very moment when the alteration began (John vi. 61–64).[1]

To a superficial observer, it is true, it might seem as if things were still the same. Jesus had barely returned before He was surrounded again by bands of adherents. The transactions of the previous days had only increased the interest in His person; and His last explanations, enigmatical though they might be, were not without a sympathetic tone even for them. Indeed, they seemed to bind these followers more closely to Him, for they attracted attention irresistibly to His words. Jesus found it necessary to put a stop to this. According to John, He had just informed His followers that they must be prepared for far greater obstacles than those presented by His last words, and now He laid emphasis upon the fact that they only could be His disciples who were ready to undergo the most severe of tests.[2]

[1] There is no doubt that John has repeated in his own peculiar way many of these discussions; but their fundamental ideas correspond exactly with the whole historical situation, proving that they rest upon lifelike reminiscences. This holds good in particular of Jesus' reference to His departure from this life (vi. 62). It is true that the fact of this allusion being a prognostication of the visible ascent into heaven, is equally opposed by the words as by the writer. But the evangelist had already spoken of the death of Jesus as explaining what was said about eating and drinking His flesh and His blood (vi. 53), and he saw in it the principal reason for the offence taken by His followers. By these words, then, he could not but think of the greater cause of offence which Jesus' return to His originally celestial existence would be. It is certain that Jesus cannot have spoken of this as of a self-evident fact, for His hearers as yet never suspected His true origin. And yet even in this regard the evangelist touches upon the profoundest meaning of the words. For Jesus did not speak of His own violent death, because any statement of the kind would have been absolutely meaningless to His followers (comp. John vii. 20), but of His departure from earth, which would put an end to His human labours.

[2] When the fourth evangelist, in describing these last transactions of Jesus with His followers, tarries longer over what He said concerning the true significance of His person, and the exercise of genuine faith in Him, it is another example of the well-known difference between the Johannine tradition and the older synoptical. The same may be said when we find the older Gospels telling us more of what Jesus said regarding the nature of true discipleship and its demands upon life. But even they have preserved the reminiscence of these incisive remarks, which must have brought about a crisis among His band of followers. There is undoubtedly one of the kind in a speech which has been

Fundamentally, indeed, there was nothing new in all this; the parables of the Pearl and of the Hidden Treasure had already showed them that for Jesus' greatest gift they too must present sacrifices, indeed must pledge their all. Until now, however, this had been anything but clear to them. When they came to Jesus they desired to receive but not to sacrifice; and besides, they constantly revelled in brilliant pictures of the Messianic future to which discipleship to Jesus would surely open the way. And yet it was a fact that the way by which the people expected to attain the fulfilment of their hopes would certainly have divided the nation, and have involved it in serious conflicts demanding great sacrifices. But how much more was that the case now; for the issue which Jesus had already before His eyes would necessarily place His followers in hostile opposition to the majority of their fellow-countrymen, and would bring about a conflict which might cost both sides their all.

This was the reason why Jesus laid such emphasis upon the increasing demands He was obliged to make on His disciples. Indeed, it was of set purpose that He placed before them the most extreme tests they could be put to, and expressed His demands in the severest way conceivable. He insisted upon being more to them than father and mother, wife and child, brother and sister. But now it was no longer a question of loosening the holiest of domestic ties for His sake, and in order that He might be followed; it might possibly occur that the dearest of blood relations might one day, in consequence of their continued unbelief, be opposed to the disciple of Jesus, or might endeavour, with the whole attracting power of natural affection, to make him faithless to Jesus. That would be the critical moment. Jesus' claim had previously been that when it was a question between God and mammon, one only could be loved while the other must be hated (Matt. vi. 24); for that is deserving of hatred which would withdraw our affections from what is worthy of our

preserved by Luke from the oldest source (xiv. 26–35), the separate maxims of which are frequently echoed in our other Gospels. Quite as in the earlier days, we see Jesus being followed by great multitudes (xiv. 25); and it is manifest from the tenor of His words that the crowds were made up of those who desired to be disciples and yet were not so in truth, just as in John they are said to think that they believe, while all the time their belief is false.

highest esteem; and so on this occasion His claim was,—If any man come to me not hating all which he has hitherto loved, he cannot be a true disciple (Luke xiv. 26). What remarkable words! Was this verily the same man who had so often attracted them by His sweet utterances, from whose lips blessings only had dropped, and who had only preached of love? It was only lately that they had first taken umbrage at anything coming from Him; but now they were to learn what it meant to be obliged to listen to hard sayings. Even at the present day these words present an insurmountable alternative to every man. Was this Jesus a great religious teacher, a powerful preacher of morals, and a living ideal of virtue? Then in that case such an expression as this, which for His sake requires the tearing asunder of the holiest bonds, was nothing less than enormous self-appreciation and blasphemous presumption. We can only understand these words if He really was a Messenger from God, who, conscious of His highest calling, dared connect with His own person the decision as to salvation or to eternal destruction. Nothing is said here as to Christ's divinity in the dogmatic sense; but demands are formulated which no mere man dared do. Only one can lay claim to our whole heart, and He has done so.

These words, however, not only treat of the sacrifice of what is dearest. The disciple of Jesus must also be prepared for the severest form of suffering. Nothing was looked upon with greater horror by the Jews than the punishment of death by crucifixion, which had been introduced by the Romans; and in those merciless days the cross might be seen erected on every side, while the Holy Land was desecrated by the corpses of the sufferers. The gallows was known to the Old Testament law, and whoever hung there was regarded as accursed of God (Deut. xxi. 23). But here, in addition to the extreme of shame and ignominy, was a refined anguish which only caused the death of the sufferer after prolonged tortures. It has been supposed that Jesus intended to refer to His own death upon the cross; but at that time there was no ground for His thinking of this end especially, and any such reference would have been perfectly incomprehensible to His hearers. But they could understand His words only too well. He desired to mention the symbol of greatest shame and agony,

and this very punishment of the cross presented itself as being most suitable for His purpose. For in cruel mockery the condemned was compelled to carry his cross to the place of execution, and was forced to aid in preparing his frightful fate. And just so was it to be with Jesus' disciple. He must not only bear the insults, shame, and cruel sufferings which following Jesus might bring upon him, not only that, but he must even accept them voluntarily. Any one who was not ready to take up his cross and so to follow Jesus, could not be a true disciple of His (Luke xiv. 17). Man has nothing more precious to sacrifice than life, and the loss of that is the hardest thing he can undergo. There was therefore only one other thing that Jesus could claim, and that was the staking of life itself. And yet even this only meant life for life, the earthly and transitory for the truly eternal. In this regard the greatest of all losses is the richest of gains, and the apparent gain is an irretrievable loss. By refusing Him it was possible to regain the temporal life which had been put in jeopardy, but then the eternal was lost. But if temporal existence was voluntarily given up to death for His sake, eternal life was thereby won. And it is true, indeed, that man possesses only one soul; it is passing through its temporal existence here, and shall one day enter upon the eternal, but it will only live if it believes on Him who decides eternal life and salvation, and if it declares itself for Him by standing the greatest of all tests. This was why Jesus uttered these wonderful enigmatical words:— He that findeth his soul shall lose it; and he that loseth his soul for my sake shall find it.[1]

What terrible pictures these words called forth, and to

[1] The original sequence of these three utterances is evident from their internal connection. Luke has only introduced into the first a reminiscence of the third (xiv. 26); Mark has woven the two last into some advice given to the disciples (viii. 34 f.), although even he remembers that they were addressed to a larger company; while the first evangelist has arranged the whole three in the original order of the "ordination charge" (Matt. x. 37–39). He has certainly taken the terrible severity from the first one, but by doing so he has only given greater prominence to the general idea which is exemplified in the crucial instance, namely, that whosoever loves anything more than he does Jesus, is not worthy of Him. In the second saying he has given most original expression to the voluntary taking up of the cross; Mark, perhaps remembering other words of Jesus, has put in place of it the incomparable assertion that

what a future did they point! Jesus knew how crushing would be the effect on His unsuspecting band of followers. But to-day He would not spare them. It was needful that they should understand clearly what it meant to be His follower. For this purpose He related two parables:—A man who desires to build a tower must first sit down and calculate the cost. If he begins to build without doing this, and means fail him, he lays himself open to ridicule because of his unfinished erection. When a king goes to war, he must first consider well whether his forces are in a position to bid defiance to the enemy. If they are not, he will sue for peace in time if he would not expose himself to the chance of shameful defeat. Every one, therefore, who desires to be Jesus' disciple must first consider whether he too can present the sacrifice which that calls for, whether he is ready to stake his all (Luke xiv. 28–33). Salt is good. But if the salt becomes insipid, *i.e.* if it loses its saltness, how can it be seasoned, *i.e.* how can its saline character be restored? That is its peculiar quality, and the loss of it is irreparable. Whenever this takes place the salt becomes useless, it is good for nothing, and must be treated as such. It is therefore cast out and trodden under foot (xiv. 34 f.).[1] Just so is it also with following of Jesus. It is a good thing, but only when united with perfect readiness to offer any sacrifice for Jesus' sake. If this willingness is awanting, it is just as valueless as the salt without savour. Once more Jesus concluded His remarks with the words, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" (xiv. 39).

It was utterances like these which were destined to bring about the crisis among His followers. He had refused to grant what they hoped for most; and He required harder

such self-denial is necessary as would regard a man's natural desires or fears as something entirely foreign to him. The third saying has been indelibly imprinted upon evangelical tradition. With very slight variations this aphorism with its twofold play of words is repeated in all our Gospels, in Luke (xvii 33) as well as in John (xii. 25).

[1] The other Gospels have preserved this oft-repeated remark about salt with but little difference. In regard to the second portion of it, the first evangelist is undoubtedly more original than Luke; but he does not make it refer to the nature of true discipleship, but to the disciples themselves, whose vocation for the world he found expressed there (Matt. v. 13), as Mark had similarly done (ix. 50).

duties than they had dreamed of. It was only possible that they could bear this, if they had really found in Him the highest good. But had they done so? The future only could show? Jesus had now spoken for the last time. He brought to an end His work among those whom He had instructed during the past months, and leaving Capernaum and the shore of the lake behind Him, He set off on a journey in company with the Twelve.

The road led towards the western frontier of Galilee (Mark vii. 24), but Jesus seems to have crossed the province in a more southerly direction. At least it can only have been when upon this journey that He paid another visit to His native town. While at the height of His ministry He had never thought of exhibiting Himself in His early home in all the resplendence of a popular favourite, but now, when His star was beginning to set, He would not pass Nazareth by without offering the tidings of salvation to it as well. Our tradition has been greatly impressed with the fact that in His native town Jesus encountered an unusual degree of unbelief; for it was as a proof of this, and for purely topical reasons, that Mark introduced the account of this visit to Nazareth (vi. 1–6). We are certainly very ignorant as to how this incredulity was manifested, or what led to this feeling being entertained.[1] And even Mark only mentions the fact that there also Jesus began by preaching in the synagogue; he then proceeds to describe the impression His appearance made. The people were amazed at the wisdom displayed in His addresses, and there was no inclination to dispute the magnitude of the works wrought by His hands, the report of which had reached them long ago. But the majority of those provincial minds found it impossible to understand how one of their own countrymen—a simple carpenter, whose kindred they knew, and whose sisters still dwelt among them, and could bear witness to His past life and His origin

[1] The most recent recounter of Jesus' life tells that Jesus was refused admittance to the paternal home. We know from John, however, that His mother and brethren had long before that departed from Nazareth. This is essentially confirmed even by Mark, who makes no mention whatever of a visit home; and when the Nazarenes do refer to Jesus' relations, although enumerating the names of His brothers, it is only of His sisters that it was said they still lived there (vi. 3).

—could have become so suddenly renowned. Their hearts were steeled against Him through miserable envy of the townsman who had been so unfairly preferred by fortune. Jesus regarded such a state of mind as perfectly natural, for it is the usual way of the world that a prophet should be appreciated anywhere rather than in his native town. But even He was surprised that their unbelief should go so far as to prevent them seeking help at His hands. They only brought to Him a few cases of apparently mild forms of disease, so that He had no opportunity of exercising His miraculous power. This is all that Mark tells us. He does not say whether these remarks of the Nazarenes were made in the synagogue, or whether it was as a direct answer to them that Jesus alluded to the fate of a prophet. Neither do we learn what it was that Jesus taught in the synagogue,—whether He also proclaimed there the kingdom of God, and directly or indirectly declared Himself the Messiah; but indeed that must have been the case, for there is no ground whatever for concluding from that remark that He appeared in Nazareth as a prophet only. It is certainly undeniable that neither such envy of their famous fellow-citizen as is expressed in the words of the Nazarenes, nor Jesus' own remark, entirely explains why it was in His native town especially that Jesus met with such a surprisingly unfavourable reception.

This being so, it is gratifying to find that the fourth evangelist has preserved a reminiscence of the reproach cast at Jesus on account of His lowly origin (John vi. 42), as well as a detailed answer which that drew forth. It appears from this passage as if the parley took place in the synagogue.[1]

[1] We observed before that the portion in John vi. from vv. 41 to 46 forms a manifest interruption to the address given in the synagogue at Capernaum about the bread from heaven. It must therefore be a reminiscence of some similar scene in a synagogue occurring about the same time, which, according to the evangelist's custom, was made into one picture along with the other incident. On this account the reproach in vi. 41 has there no historical connection, but is opposed to a statement by Jesus regarding His heavenly origin which the evangelist first introduces into the speech about the heavenly bread (comp. p. 5, note); and in that connection Jesus' answer only bears upon the averting of the suspicion that by such statements He wished to obtain an honour which did not belong to Him. Even the protestation of the unique character of His direct knowledge of God (ver. 46) is given in the evangelist's language and according to

In reply to their senseless refusal to listen to Him any longer, Jesus said that only he could become one of His followers whom God drew to Him. It had been foretold by the prophets that in the Messianic age all should be taught of God (comp. Isa. liv. 13). He, therefore, whom God did not instruct and draw to Jesus could not be His disciple; but this divine instruction was undoubtedly dependent upon a man's wish to hear and learn (John vi. 44 f.).[1] This thought was really only the reverse side of what Jesus had expressed in that proverbial saying. The natural bond uniting men in temporal things not only does not promote, but it frequently hinders the recognition of the messenger of God. The bond attaching believers to Jesus must be secured by a higher hand. Jesus rose above the bitter sense of being rejected in His native town, by directing His thoughts to the divine decree of election (comp. vi. 65). This decree did not mean that God, with sovereign arbitrariness, destined one man to salvation and drew him to Jesus, while He excluded another in His anger. But where we men stand helpless before the question why salvation is effected in the case of one by what has no result whatever on others, Jesus saw the operation of divine grace by which the Searcher of hearts selected those in whose minds He could discover the point of contact which was needed before any result could be attained.

There can now be no doubt that the subject of discussion in the synagogue at Nazareth was the same which was talked of everywhere in those days: it bore upon the divinity of Jesus' mission, His calling as Messiah, and belief in that. But if this were the case, then Jesus must necessarily have advanced a distinct claim in His synagogue preaching; and that He did so is directly attested by the fact that in the

his point of view, and is far from being sufficiently explained by the context. In general, however, and in spite of much that is Johannine in expression, we have here undoubtedly an original reminiscence of words uttered by Jesus.

[1] Proceeding upon such declarations as these, John has frequently represented Jesus as telling how believers were given Him by His Father (vi. 37, x. 29, xvii. 2, 6, 9); and even in the oldest source Jesus speaks of the divine operation of grace, by which the saving truth is revealed to one which is hidden from another (Matt. xi. 25, xvi. 17). This divine operation is effected through Jesus' exhibition of Himself both in word and work (John vi. 46), but without it they were of no effect whatever. But as that was brought about psychologically, so, inversely, it can only be effective when met by human receptivity.

source peculiar to Luke, Jesus' first act in the synagogue at Nazareth was to read a passage from the prophets (Isa. lxi. 1 f.), which He declared to be then fulfilled (Luke iv. 16–21). If Jesus claimed by this to be the Fulfiller of prophecy, and if He thereby protested against the non-receptivity of His hearers, we can well suppose that He was called upon to support His claims in the face of this disinclination to acknowledge them. It was therefore really another case of demanding a sign; and only by so regarding it can we understand how John could put his recollections of this scene into the great speech bearing upon that demand, as well as how eminently suitable are the words of Jesus recorded by him (John vi. 44 f.); they show how no sign can aid when God refuses His operation of grace, or man does not allow it to effect in him what is necessary. The special peculiarity in the tradition which Luke alone has preserved, is that Jesus expressly says He knows well that they desire Him to exhibit His legitimation by means of some sign:—They would doubtless say unto Him, in parable, Physician, heal Thyself. He who would assist others must first be able to aid himself. Did He desire to be the great Helper of Israel, He should begin by procuring the authority with which here He had hitherto not been credited, and should show that He possessed both the power and the means to act (Luke iv. 23). We learn on this occasion that it was by no means dislike of the upstart that set the populace of Nazareth against Jesus from the first; it was jealousy of Capernaum, which He had so greatly preferred by making it the centre of His labours (Matt. xi. 23), and where the greater number of His miracles were performed. The people must have asked why it was that He had not benefited His native town by this ministry of His. "Whatever we have heard done at Capernaum, do also here in Thine own country" (iv. 23). But Jesus did no miracles in response to unbelief, indeed Mark expressly says that He had not the power (Mark vi. 5). He therefore reminded them that even the great prophets of the Old Covenant had only wrought miracles on certain chosen ones, and that not within the narrow limits of their country (Luke iv. 25–27). Thus, for example, when the land was visited by famine, Elijah only assisted the Sidonian widow at

Sarepta (1 Kings xvii.), and Naaman the Syrian was the only man cured of leprosy by Elisha (2 Kings v.). The employment of these examples has frequently been regarded as scarcely called for by the circumstances of the case; but we cannot so regard them when we learn from John that Jesus here spoke of the operation of God's grace, and grace may freely select the subjects to be acted upon. God had Himself chosen those cities by the lake, and had directed Jesus to enter upon His ministry there. Did they wish to enter upon a dispute with Jehovah? But besides all this, these examples open out to us a far wider vista. Luke was right in seeing in them the programme for the whole history of Christendom. Only this programme did not stand historically at the commencement of Jesus' Galilean ministry, but at the close, for it was the decision come to by the people during those very days which first impressed upon Him the idea that God would select other nations to be the recipients of His salvation, when the chosen of His love—His people Israel—refused Him.[1]

Luke relates how the townspeople, enraged at Jesus having apparently put them upon a lower level than the heathen, thrust Him out of the city, with the intention of casting Him from the summit of the hill on the brow of which Nazareth was built; so that He only escaped from their hands as by a miracle (iv. 28–30). But there is little probability that

[1] It has certainly been regarded as doubtful whether Luke intended to describe the same visit to Nazareth which is given in Mark; the only point of dispute, however, has been whether he alluded to an earlier or later one, while the truth is that according to all the circumstances of the case one is just as impossible as the other. But Luke himself has shown most distinctly that he had the same visit in view; he omits Mark's parallel narrative, and entwines some incidents from it with the representation of his own source, although in a somewhat disconnected way (vv. 22, 24). This action of Luke is the reason why his narrative has given rise to the impression that Jesus' conduct was in this instance lacking in its usual gentleness and wisdom, and that He "unnecessarily embittered the foolish ones of Galilee." It is evident that the reason why Luke placed this narrative at the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, was the fact of his regarding Jesus' rejection in Nazareth as a type of the result produced by His whole activity. Certainly he has indicated with sufficient clearness that that was not its proper chronological position, for he distinctly presupposes a previous ministry (iv. 14 f.), which was carried out more particularly in Capernaum (iv. 23). The idea cannot be entertained that he wished to give reasons for the alleged removal of Jesus to Capernaum (iv. 31). Neither can it be said that there is any contradiction between his representation and Mark's, for Mark tells of no incidental occurrences in synagogues as Luke does.

this actually took place, for there was then no ground for any such exasperation on their part; besides, the expression used puts one so strongly in mind of a similar tumult which took place at a later date in Jerusalem under very different circumstances (John viii. 59), that there must be here an intermixture of Johannine reminiscences in the tradition of Luke, just as we have found to be the case elsewhere. Indeed, there is still some slight indication in the words which would seem to indicate the point of contact in the source for this combination. It was certainly said there that He was cast out (Luke iv. 29), but probably all that was meant originally was His being forbidden the synagogue. Hitherto Jesus had always employed the synagogues as the scene of His didactic ministry, and no one had gainsaid Him; and it was the fact that the first time He was refused admittance was here in His native town, which has imprinted upon tradition such a distinct impression of the almost incredible non-receptivity of Nazareth. Moreover, Jesus did not permit Himself to be so treated a second time: He never seems to have entered a synagogue again.

It was while on this journey that Jesus must have visited the little town of Nain, lying to the south-east of Nazareth, where He raised the widow's son (comp. vol. ii. p. 183). But only a short time elapsed until He reached the Phœnician frontier.

CHAPTER V.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE LAND OF THE GENTILES.

WE do not know that the Jews have ever held the sea-coasts of Palestine. When they first entered the country, the Philistines were masters of the southern strip, separating the Holy Land from the Mediterranean Sea, while the northern portion was possessed by the Phœnicians, allied in race to the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, and often included along with them in the designation of Canaanite. In Jesus' time, however, north and south had long been united under the sceptre of Roman dominion; and in consequence of its dependence upon the province of Syria, the northern coast-line was then termed Syrophœnicia. Trade and commerce still flourished in those districts as of old, and the whole shore was frequently called by the names of the chief emporiums Tyre and Sidon, which although no longer the seats of royalty, still retained essentially their ancient position.

It was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tyre that, accompanied by His disciples, Jesus crossed the frontier, and entered the land of the Gentiles (Mark vii. 24).[1] He did not wish it to be known who He was; but we can understand that it was scarcely possible to keep people in ignorance. The renown of the mighty miracle-worker in Israel had spread long before this to these border districts, and the tidings of His appearance in the land of the Gentiles must have been carried rapidly. Thus it was that He was sought

[1] The first evangelist regarded this as incompatible with Jesus' principles, which strictly limited His earthly activity within the boundaries of Israel (Matt. xv. 22, 29), and he represents the little band as turning back when within sight of the frontier. Schenkel supposes that this was a missionary journey, and that Jesus only intended to ascertain the religious feeling of the Gentile world; but certainly nothing of the kind is mentioned by Mark, for he says distinctly that Jesus desired no one to know of His presence.

out at once by a woman of Syrophœnicia, who, falling at His feet, prayed Him to cast a devil out of her daughter (Mark vii. 25 f.). This narrative was doubtless given by the oldest source, as its manner was, without any mention of time or place; all that it paid any attention to was the words then spoken by Jesus, and therefore it began at once by saying that a Canaanitish woman besought Him to have mercy upon her daughter, who was grievously vexed with a devil. She appealed to Jesus as the Son of David, for she had never heard the great miracle-worker spoken of except as the future King of Israel, whose coming was awaited so anxiously (Matt. xv. 22).[1] Seeing that Jesus did not seem disposed to listen to the woman's request, His disciples urged Him to grant it at once, and then dismiss her, for they knew how much He disliked the disturbance this scene must have made, especially as He desired to preserve His incognito. Jesus, however, directed attention to the whole scheme of His calling, according to which He was only sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv. 23 f.). It has been said that this refusal was prompted by a national or religious antipathy against heathendom; but that is not the case, it was induced by a clear recognition of the divine decree which ordained that the Messiah's earthly ministry should be confined to Israel. This was the reason which caused Him to cut short that unsought-for work in Samaria (John iv. 40), and also led to His forbidding the disciples to cross the border of the Holy Land (Matt. x. 5). It seems hardly necessary to say that if Jesus had made common cause with the Gentiles, such a proceeding would have closed the hearts

[1] This statement is in so far highly important for us, for in despite of all the doubts of criticism it is here unanswerably apparent that even in the adjoining country it was thought that the people of Israel regarded this Jesus as the Chosen of Jehovah, who should one day be king over all nations. Moreover, the fact of the first evangelist representing the woman as coming from the border before Jesus had passed it, is closely connected with the scruple mentioned in the preceding note. In other respects he has preserved the narrative of the oldest source with literal fidelity (xv. 22–28). We learn from him that the scene took place upon the public highway. Mark represents it as occurring within the house, for he was interested in showing (comp. vol. i. p. 48) that Jesus not only traversed Gentile soil, but had no hesitation in entering a Gentile dwelling (vii. 24)—an act which was regarded as rendering a man unclean by all Jews who were Pharisaically disposed (comp. Acts xi. 3).

of His people against Him for ever. But, indeed, the reasons of that divine decree are not difficult to fathom; Israel alone had been prepared by the law and the prophets for the message of salvation which was brought by Jesus, and its entire national history was connected with the fact that salvation would first be realized in it. There can be no doubt, however, that that decree did not preclude the possibility of Jesus according a divine favour to a heathen woman as an exceptional case. It has been thought surprising that on this occasion Jesus should have had scruples in according what He had so willingly granted the Gentile centurion in Capernaum; on that account this incident has even been regarded as the earlier of the two. But in the case of the centurion, it was the man's unusually strong faith which enabled Jesus to grant his request, and it must certainly be supposed that He would wait to see if the like conditions obtained here. Besides this, that centurion was a friend of the Jews, perhaps even a proselyte of the gate. But we must consider particularly, however, that Jesus was now on Gentile soil, and that He was obliged to refuse any countenance to the idea that He had come there to labour as He had done in Israel; this was necessary to preserve His redemptive calling from like suppositions.

Even when the woman threw herself before Him, and repeated her urgent prayer for help, Jesus still kept to His refusal by giving a parabolic explanation of His reason: It is equally impermissible to withdraw the salvation destined for the people of promise in order to apply it to the Gentiles, as it is to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs.[1] The woman, however, had no intention of disputing the pre-

[1] We sometimes hear it said that Jesus here compares the unclean Gentiles with dogs, as exclusive Judaism was in the habit of doing; and then after such a statement there generally follows an attempt to excuse the comparison. But to say this is to mistake the nature of parables; they do not compare one thing with another, but an arrangement which holds in ordinary life with one prevailing in the kingdom of God. Besides, this assertion does not take into account that the allusion here is not to the savage dogs of the East, which were alone considered unclean, but to the pets with which the children played. It is a characteristic fact that even Mark regarded this explanation on the part of Jesus—whether or not in its figurative form—as difficult of comprehension for his Gentile readers. He therefore omitted the non-figurative form, and explained the other (according to Paul, Rom. i. 16) by the words: "Let the

rogative of the chosen people. Sensibly and modestly she accepts Jesus' parable, but employs it in her own favour by bringing another side of it to view, showing that even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table. These dogs have no desire to take of the children's bread, for their very position at the table ensures that they shall be satisfied by the morsels which remain from it; and she is just as far from wishing to disturb Israel in its possession of salvation, or to lessen it in any way, if only she may receive her share of the riches of this salvation. It is evident, then, from this answer that in spite of Jesus' discouraging bearing, the woman had sufficient confidence to seize upon the only point in His words favourable to her. Divine assistance could not be refused to faith like this; Jesus gave her the desired promise without delay, and when the mother got home she found her daughter well (Matt. xv. 25–28).

The criticism which proceeds upon the denial of miracles is met by the same difficulties in this narrative as in that of the centurion of Capernaum. In this case also there is an expulsion of demons, which cannot be referred to any psychological operation, as the sufferer was at a distance from Jesus.[1] In the essential points of the story, however, there

children first be filled" (Mark vii. 27). Both the words and the sense of Mark's narrative are opposed to the idea that he made an endeavour in vii. 24 to explain Jesus' refusal otherwise. For the sake of his readers Luke has omitted the whole incident.

[1] If criticism, as is reasonable, will disclaim the idea of any medicinal remedies having been sent to the house, or of Jesus' words having merely held out the consoling prospect of possible improvement, nothing else is left but to regard this as a mythical or poetical description of the proclamation of the gospel among the Gentiles. In that case the believing perseverance on the part of the Gentiles would represent their ultimate victory over the obstinate opposition to their admission to the Church. But it is certainly remarkable that the same thought should be found impressed in two different narratives, for from the point of view to which we have just alluded one cannot see what motives could have led to the centurion's son being transformed into the daughter of the Canaanitish woman, or conversely. Besides, both narratives are derived from the oldest apostolic source, in which it is impossible to conceive of any such invention having taken place; and it would certainly have been very remarkable if among a populace with such a large Gentile element, and especially when travelling in their land, Jesus should never have been solicited for help. The striking fact of the cure taking place on both occasions at a distance from Him may be explained by the Gentiles not daring to bring their sick to Him.

is a most important distinction. In the case of the centurion, Jesus shows Himself ready and willing to aid; here, He is firm in His refusal. It must not be said, as has lately been generally done, that Jesus was finally overcome by the woman's persevering prayer. This may be depicted picturesquely, but the truth is that Jesus could not be induced to cure any one from purely human reasons, nor could His refusal have been actuated by them; indeed, His aid was not given wherever His warm human heart would have bid Him do so, but only where He felt assured of divine assistance. His declinature was founded upon the divine decree He was bound to fulfil, and which underwent no change when a needy woman implored help. He was obliged to wait until He received divine assurance that God's grace would make an exception to the general rule. It cannot, therefore, be said that there was here any intention of grieving the woman in order to test her faith. It was not Jesus, but God Himself, whom the woman had conquered by her believing prayers, just as on one occasion Jesus promised His disciples should be the case (Luke xi. 5–8). In the woman's modest as well as heroic faith He saw the condition of this promise fulfilled, and was assured of His Father's permission. He had certainly no intention of making a demonstration against Pharisaic exclusiveness, or of prophesying the future participation of the Gentiles in salvation. Indeed, Mark is quite right when he says that the granting of her prayer was rendered possible to Jesus by the woman's full recognition of Israel's prerogative (Mark vii. 29). In that land of the Gentiles He dared not leave any doubt as to the sense in which such an exception could be made, without thereby prejudicing His proper calling. But this occurrence was, nevertheless, full of meaning for Jesus. Shortly before this, when healing the blind man at Bethsaida, He had announced His determination to bring His ministry of healing in Israel to a close (p. 23). He had but lately spoken of the divine nomination which might possibly be alienated from Israel and directed to the Gentiles (p. 34). And now He had scarcely touched Gentile soil, where for the first time He did not seek to perform cures, when His Father in heaven brought before Him a Gentile woman whom He had Himself chosen to be

the recipient of His grace. What a perspective must this have opened out before the eyes of Jesus in that hour when His people apparently refused to receive Him, and His native town had rejected Him!

Jesus remained for some time in the land of the Gentiles, and in company with His disciples He journeyed from Tyre to Sidon; He seems to have travelled along the northern frontier of the Holy Land, and to have joined the high road to Damascus, which led across Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, for Mark expressly says that He returned through Decapolis, to which Pliny regarded Damascus as belonging, and struck the lake from the eastern side (Mark vii. 31). But what then could have been Jesus' real purpose in visiting this Gentile country, for we have just seen that He had no intention of beginning a ministry there? A likely supposition would be, that He was compelled to quit His own land because of threatened hostilities. And it has been thought that a point of connection for this idea can be found in Mark's narrative,[1] where Jesus' great journey is immediately preceded by a dispute with the Pharisees, in which even scribes from Jerusalem took part (Mark vii. 1). But we have already seen that the repeated appearance of these scribes does not point to any interference on the part of the Sanhedrin, nor would the question as to Jesus' attitude to the Pharisaic precepts which were equally rejected by the entire Sadducaic party, have induced the authorities to proceed against Him (comp. vol. ii. p. 299). It was undoubtedly the fact that the dispute as to cleansings had intensified the hostility of the Pharisees; but then this party could never have been directly dangerous to Jesus, that could only be the case through their influence with the ecclesiastical council in Jerusalem.

[1] It is clear from the following consideration how little can be made of this supposition. After each of the two accounts of feeding the multitudes, which are given by Mark, there follows a dispute with the Pharisees, and we have no reason for supposing that these do not rest upon historical recollection. But certainly, as these apparently different occurrences are, as we have seen, only varied reports of the one great event, so certainly must there have been historically only one such dispute. We have already seen that the strife about the demand for a sign (Mark viii. 11) was closely connected with the events following upon the feeding of the multitudes. The historical position of the controversy as to purification is, however, perfectly uncertain (comp. vol. ii. p. 299, note).

Besides, Jesus did not seek to escape that conflict; on the contrary, He sought it when His hour had come. And He knew that it had to be fought out in Jerusalem (comp. Luke xiii. 33). The very utmost that can be said with any degree of probability is that by reason of the increasing hostility of the Pharisaic party Jesus' ministry in Galilee was becoming greatly hindered and weakened, and more especially His admission to the synagogues was being made a matter of difficulty. But we have seen quite recently that, so far as we know, the first expulsion from the synagogue, which led to His keeping away from them altogether, was not in any way actuated by the Pharisaic party. And the fact of Jesus regarding His popular ministry in Galilee as closed, was owing to the crucial events which followed the feeding of the multitudes, and was not forced upon Him by the necessity of escaping from conflict with the Pharisees.

The latest idea in regard to this question is that Jesus took refuge on Gentile territory in order to escape the pursuit of the supreme ruler. And an attempt has been made to connect this theory with Mark's statement, that the court had its attention attracted to Jesus in consequence of the mission of the disciples.[1] But we have already seen repeatedly that Herod was disposed to see in Jesus the Baptist risen from the dead (Mark vi. 16), and he was therefore the very last who would feel called upon to have anything to do with this weird figure. It is perfectly impossible to understand what could have moved this worldly-minded prince to hostile action against Jesus, for the prophet's great popularity rendered anything of the kind much more hazardous than the execution of the Baptist—an act which was a burden upon Herod's conscience. There was not the slightest occasion for any such action being taken in view of Jesus' almost anxious avoidance of any interference in secular

[1] The secondary report of Jesus' retreat to the eastern shore, given in the first Gospel (Matt. xiv. 13), offers no occasion whatever for the account on which Mark proceeds. But yet it is in this report, if anywhere, that support must be sought for the assertion—although it is fatal to the historical view—that even on the eastern shore Jesus was within the tetrarch's dominions. The other references made by the evangelist to Jesus' departure (Matt. xii. 15, xv. 21) plainly allude to His having avoided disputations with the Pharisees.

affairs (comp. Luke xii. 13 f.), and particularly of His energetic repulsion of the revolutionary desires which were latterly entertained by the people. Indeed, we shall afterwards meet with the most distinct indications that Herod stood in great awe of his subjects, but that Jesus had little reason to fear him (Luke xiii. 31 ff.). Notwithstanding all this, however, some critics, and Keim in particular, have sought to give a certain dramatic effect to the later period of Jesus' residence in Galilee by this pretended flight from Herod.[1] But Keim does this after having, through the rejection of the Fourth Gospel, deprived himself of the possibility of forming any true comprehension of the catastrophe which led to Jesus' Galilean ministry being closed. He does not observe, however, that these discoveries of his would involve Jesus in a situation historically impossible, and indeed entirely unworthy of Him. From these expeditions Jesus always returned to the usual scene of His ministry, so that it would have been an easy thing for Herod to arrest Him, if he really purposed to do so. Even the journey through the land of the Gentiles cannot have been induced by fear of Herod, for we shall see how Jesus returned to Galilee without the slightest apprehension, and even laboured at a later date within the tetrarch's domain of Perea. But still worse than these historical impossibilities is the colour which this fugitive life would throw upon Jesus Himself. He must surely have known that in the providence of God His death was determined; and we shall see how perfectly He acted in accordance with this supposition. Or if He knew that His end could not be brought about by the prince's malice, but that His divinely decreed fate would overtake Him in the metropolis of the land (Luke xiii. 33), what prevented Him from quitting the tetrarch's territory and bidding defiance to this destiny in Jerusalem? Certainly, the desire to labour in some special

[1] Keim supposes that he can demonstrate the occurrence of no fewer than four such flights. It is a characteristic fact that he reckons among them the retreat to the eastern shore, which certainly did not remove Jesus beyond Herod's jurisdiction, and which Mark explained in quite another way (Mark vi. 30–32). Besides this he includes the expedition to the country of the Gadarenes; while the first evangelist, upon whom alone Keim supports these combinations, places it during the earliest period of Jesus' ministry (Matt. viii. 18, 28).

part of Galilee could not have weighed against the impression which must have been made upon the people as well as upon His disciples, when He, persecuted and despised, sought a refuge now in one place and now in another, only to be convinced afresh that rest was not for Him. If, in the providence of God, however, He had still a lengthened ministry to exercise in Galilee, He must also have known that He was under His Father's care, and that He had no need to seek safety through flights which made it impossible to carry on this ministry. Was it only in regard to others, and with no reference to Himself, that He said not a hair of our heads can fall to the ground without our Father's will? (Matt. x. 29 f.).

The more we recognise in what a narrow circle the principal part of Jesus' ministry up to that time had been passed (comp. vol. ii. p. 106), the more likely will the thought occur to us that He desired to affect a larger number of auditors. Perhaps He had a particular wish to follow up the mission of His disciples, and widen and deepen the interest they had excited. But His own ministry had by no means been limited by its local boundaries. We are early told that the multitudes who listened to Him were drawn from the whole province, and even from other quarters of the country (Mark iii. 7 f.) Indeed, it was not exclusively the populace of the north-western shore who had a part in those late crucial scenes; before that, Jesus had designedly drawn the whole population of the province into sympathy by the mission upon which He sent His disciples; and at the subsequent feast everything that was said during these occurrences would soon become common property. The same cause which led Jesus to concentrate His activity within a comparatively narrow sphere, must have induced Him to see in the crisis which took place there the decision regarding His ministry in the northern province in general. It was impossible that Jesus should constantly be making fresh starts in the various divisions of Galilee—attempts which always terminated with the same experiences. And, besides, this melancholy result was owing to the character of the people, and that was everywhere alike. Only on the spot, where by concentrated labour He had created the relatively greatest possibility of a favourable

result, could it be determined what degree of success He had had in gaining His people to acquiesce in His highest purposes. No end would be served by making fresh attempts at one or another place in Galilee. Even the synoptic tradition, although ignorant of the actual *motives* for the step, is deeply impressed with the fact that soon after the feeding of the multitude, Jesus brought His popular ministry in Galilee to a close (comp. Mark vii. 36, viii. 26, ix. 30); and we find in John that Jesus' final departure from Galilee was preceded by a period of retirement (John vii. 3). There was no hope of Galilee when once it had become apparent that its people would not abandon their national expectations, and would not acquiesce in Jesus' apprehension of His Messianic calling. A more prolonged activity there would only have led to renewed attempts to force Him to undertake the *rôle* of a political Messiah, or else would have been productive of fruitless strife. Besides this, our sources have as little knowledge of extensive missionary journeys in Galilee as of flight having been necessary. They only know that Jesus, passing through the province, entered upon a great journey into the land of the Gentiles (Mark vii. 24); and perhaps there is a reference to a similar journey into the country governed by the second of Herod's sons (viii. 27), which was closely linked to Galilee.

We can thus see clearly what the reasons were which led to that journey being undertaken. It was needful for the people to learn that Jesus had terminated His public ministry in Galilee. If He had gone into retirement there, they would have known where to seek for Him, even if only for the sake of their sick. However much He might shun such encounters, or shorten them when they did occur, yet each fresh interview would leave them uncertain whether or not He intended to retire altogether: only in the land of the Gentiles could He get perfect quiet. But there was still another consideration besides this. The people were themselves to decide concerning the questions which during the latter days of His public ministry He had placed before them, and this was to be done without their being constantly affected by the momentary impression made by His words and deeds. They were themselves to deduce the consequences of

Jesus' statements as well as of His actions. But it was only possible for them to come to a determination as to their position in regard to Jesus, when He had been for some time removed from their midst. Jesus might have attained His end by bidding farewell to Galilee, and making Jerusalem the scene of His labours. But He had still something to say to His countrymen for the sake of the future if not of the present; and He intended to visit once more the scene of His earlier ministry, although not until He had withdrawn Himself from the people for a time. His only choice of a retreat lay between Phœnicia and the neighbouring province. It was not idle repose that He sought for; a difficult and most important portion of His life's work lay in a great measure still before Him. Mark's representation unmistakeably exhibits his own idea, that in the degree in which Jesus retired from His popular ministry He devoted Himself to the instruction of His disciples; and this is one of the most acute glimpses which Mark gives us into the inner development of Jesus' ministry. He had learned how greatly they were in need of such a training from the experience of their mission, their behaviour during the late critical events, and especially from their misconception of His warning against the leaven of the Pharisees. It was in the land of the Gentiles, and there only, that He belonged exclusively to His disciples. He could there devote Himself to their instruction and training, and in uninterrupted intercourse with them employ every means for preparing them for the great crisis which was soon to come.

It is at this point that we must consider an old error, which necessarily arose from Mark's account when he introduced two feedings of the multitude into the evangelic history. We have seen already how he represents both of these as being followed by a conflict with the Pharisees, while only one is accounted for by the events succeeding the one feeding. In the same way each of those is followed by the narrative of a cure, showing that Jesus no longer desired to continue His public ministry (Mark vii. 36, viii. 26), although only one of them was enacted in a locality which is elsewhere indicated in our tradition as having been visited after the feeding of the multitude (Mark viii. 22; comp. vi. 45).

Both are also succeeded by a conversation with the disciples, which disclosed their great feebleness of comprehension (Mark vii. 18, viii. 17 f.), and forcibly suggested to Jesus the desirability of devoting Himself exclusively to their instruction. But it is true at the same time that only the second of these finds a definite point of connection in the whole historical situation. There can be no doubt that these series of parallel narratives are explicable by literary purposes, and it is equally certain that they rest upon historical reminiscences of events which occurred in connection with the feeding of the multitude. It is probable, however, that the reduplication of that event has led to the same thing being done to the others by the introduction of analogous incidents from another period. This supposition is directly confirmed by the last point in both series of narratives. The journey in the first is to the borders of Tyre and Sidon (Mark vii. 24); in the second to Cæsarea Philippi (viii. 27). Thus there must have been two distinct journeys according to Mark's account. But if Jesus followed the road to Damascus, or even if He turned southwards from thence in order to return through Decapolis to the Lake of Galilee (Mark vii. 31), a glance at the map will show us that it was almost impossible He could have avoided the territory of the tetrarch Philip, and shortly afterwards have undertaken a new journey in order to visit it. This is of course a simple historical impossibility. It is as evident as it possibly can be that the idea of two distinct journeys, during which Jesus twice crossed the frontiers of Galilee, is only a consequence of a second feeding of the multitude being assumed. Both those journeys are but parts of the one great journey, and we must assume that Jesus, when coming from the land of the Gentiles, first re-entered the Holy Land somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi.

It was in this spot that a series of incidents took place which has been indelibly imprinted upon sacred tradition.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DAY AT CÆSAREA PHILIPPI.

THE north-east portion of Palestine was governed by the best of Herod's sons, Philip, a benign prince of simple manners, who was zealous in the discharge of his duties. A little to the east of that Dan, in the tribe of Naphtali, whose name at one time signified the utmost northern limit of the Holy Land, as Beersheba marked that on the south (Judg. xx. 1 ; 2 Sam. xvii. 17), lay the town of Paneas, and among the ruins a village still exists bearing almost the same name. This place was enlarged and beautified by the tetrarch; he named it Cæsarea Philippi after himself, and made it his principal place of residence. Overlooking the city was a gorgeous marble temple dedicated by the prince to his imperial benefactor; splendid altars, votive pictures and statues, bore witness to the conquering power of heathendom. The surrounding country, once so extolled by the spies of Dan (Judg. xviii. 9 f.), is well watered by the numerous fountains of the Jordan, and abounds in rich pastures, bountiful corn-fields, and abundant olive groves. On the horizon rise the snowy summits of Lebanon and Hermon, and bold offshoots from these mountain ranges penetrate far into the sunny valley.

It was in this region that, after a sojourn of several months' duration in the country of the Gentiles, Jesus once more entered the Holy Land. He seems to have avoided the capital, with its almost entirely heathen inhabitants, just as He had shunned in Galilee the proud city of Tiberias. But He must have tarried in the neighbourhood, it was there that He wandered with His disciples from village to village (Mark viii. 27). The first witnesses retained a vivid impression of the hours which Jesus and His disciples passed here; and Mark, with unusual distinctness, connects his recollections of

what took place then with the district about Cæsarea Philippi. According to his account, it was here that Jesus asked His disciples what the people said of Him. We learn from their answer that there were some who regarded Jesus as John the Baptist, on the supposition that he had risen from the dead and returned to earthly existence (comp. vi. 14, 16). Others held Him to be the Elijah who was to come from heaven in order to act as the forerunner of the Messianic age; while others, again, comforted themselves by declaring Him a prophet, without connecting His appearance with any one of the great prophetic figures of the past. It was in opposition to these obscure and indefinite opinions that Jesus asked His disciples directly whom they regarded Him as being. He manifestly assumed that they whom He had Himself chosen, and who had hitherto lived in constant communion with Him, would have an opinion regarding Him differing from that of the majority of the people; and it was quite in accordance with this expectation when Peter answered in the name of the Twelve, "Thou art the Christ." Immediately after this incident the narrative goes on to tell how Jesus charged His disciples to say nothing to any man concerning His Messiahship (Mark viii. 27–30).

It is upon the account given by Mark that the newer criticism, which proceeds upon the total non-historicity of the Johannine Gospel, rests its notion of the great importance of the day at Cæsarea Philippi.[1] Jesus is said to have here been proclaimed Messiah for the first time by His disciples, and, along with the assumption of that name, to have seized the sceptre of His kingdom, thereby taking up the position before the whole world which the Father had destined for Him. And certainly it does seem as if Mark supposed that the disciples, or perhaps Peter alone, were now informed of something as yet unknown to the people in general, and which Jesus commanded them not to make public. This supposition appears to be confirmed by the fact that even

[1] Certainly the idea that it was now for the first time that Jesus told His disciples either directly or indirectly about His Messiahship is contrary to the palpable meaning of this account. Jesus proclaimed nothing in a general way, but He expected from the beginning that His disciples would give an answer to His question different from the people had done. It was no impulsion from Jesus that led Peter to acknowledge His Messiahship.

after the mission of the Twelve had been accomplished, Mark represents the people as being just as undecided in their opinion as they were here (vi. 14). And besides this, he does not, like the oldest source, say that the woman appealed to Jesus as the son of David (vii. 26), nor does he put any acknowledgment of Jesus' Messiahship in the mouth of the disciples; on the contrary, he repeatedly emphasizes the great feebleness of their comprehension. It almost appears as if he had regarded the cure of the blind man which immediately preceded Peter's confession as a symbolical representation of the fact that Jesus would now succeed at last in opening the eyes of His disciples who were still spiritually blind. But if this was Mark's conception of the matter, it did not coincide with his own presuppositions.[1] For even he represents the Baptist as pointing to one who should come after him as the Messiah. (Mark i. 7 f.); and the manner in which the disciples attach themselves to Jesus, and for His sake leave home and calling (Mark i. 18, 20), is quite incomprehensible if they did not regard Him as the Messiah promised by the Baptist. In Mark's Gospel, too, Jesus proclaims the fulfilment of the time and the approach of the kingdom of God (i. 14 f.), whose coming without the Messiah could be as little conceived of by the disciples as by the people. And it is from Mark especially that we learn how Jesus was surrounded by multitudes, who cannot all have been in need of healing, nor have been attracted by His words alone, for Jesus Himself complained of their non-receptivity (iv. 12); what attracted these masses of men, therefore, could only have been

[1] His view cannot be regarded as settling the matter for us, especially as it is utterly contradictory of the account given by the eye-witness John; at best, Mark's is only a secondary source. From the recollection of various words of Jesus and incidents from His life as related by Peter, and with the help of the oldest memoranda of Jesus' addresses, which certainly did not contain a continuous historical narrative, Mark's first endeavour was to sketch a picture of the course of development taken by Jesus' ministry (comp. vol. i. chap. iii.). To us this sketch of his is of inestimable value. But that he made no mistake in his combinations would only be possible by a miracle of inspiration such as criticism would be the last to assume, and we have more than once been compelled to avow in unison with criticism that errors are of frequent occurrence. Since criticism disputes John's credibility, we can only judge this view of Mark's according to his own presuppositions. And we are obliged to repeat here all that has been so often said against the possibility of this assumption.

the hope that Jesus would bring about the deliverance of the people, and along with that the Messianic consummation. Besides all this, we find in Mark that Jesus terms Himself the Son of man, and as such attributes to Himself the power to forgive sins and to determine what is the proper observance of the Sabbath (ii. 10, 27); while the people acknowledge His power to be superior to that of their ordinary authorities (i. 22). Is it conceivable that it never occurred to the people that Jesus was the Chosen of Jehovah, whose coming should introduce the Messianic age, when even the demoniacs everywhere addressed Him as the Messiah (i. 24, 34, iii. 11, v. 7)? In conclusion, we find it related in Mark how the blind man at Jericho invoked Jesus as the Messiah, and how the people prepared for Him the Messianic triumphal procession (x. 47 f., xi. 9 f.). But it is impossible to see what could have led them to entertain this idea then, if they had obstinately refused to do so at an earlier period. Indeed, in Mark's account more especially, the later portion of Jesus' ministry presents no new motives for their doing so; Jesus withdraws Himself almost entirely from His popular ministry in order to devote His time to the training of the Twelve.

But how can it be explained that the disciples, who still shared in the popular expectations, should arrive all at once at the recognition of Jesus' Messiahship, of which the people are said to have determined to know nothing? It is from Mark we learn that the Pharisees had shortly before this demanded from Jesus a token of His Messiahship (viii. 11), an incident which is absolutely incomprehensible if He had never laid claim to this dignity. Jesus had dismissed them curtly, thus showing that He had no desire to be the Messiah which they expected. And now, scarcely have the disciples arrived at Cæsarea Philippi from Dalmanutha, when in public opposition to the whole people they acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah. It is especially in Mark's connection that we find the scene at Cæsarea Philippi so entirely incomprehensible, if we are required to see in Peter's confession the first dawning in the disciples of belief in the Messiah. Not so, however, was Mark's Gospel understood by our first evangelist, or else he did not sympathize with this

view. He represents the disciples as appealing to Jesus as the Messiah at even an earlier date (Matt. xiv. 33). In Matt. xii. 23 the people appear struck with the conviction of Jesus' Messiahship, and that idea is first opposed by the Pharisees. And how could Matthew do otherwise? Is it not the case that long ere this he had put together from the apostolic source a number of Jesus' addresses which must have led the people as well as the disciples to face the question of His Messiahship?[1] At a very early period he took from the same source the story of the two blind men who called upon Jesus as the son of David (ix. 27 f.); and when the Canaanitish woman did the same (xv. 22), she can only have repeated what she heard everywhere from her countrymen as to the position occupied by the great miracle-worker.

No, even according to the presuppositions of the older Gospels, the scene at Cæsarea Philippi cannot be understood as proving that the people did not then regard Jesus as the Messiah, or that the disciples got their first conviction of His Messiahship there. What it does show is that the people no longer considered Him the Messiah, but that the disciples held fast this belief. We may have a tolerably clear idea

[1] Neither the people nor the disciples could doubt that Jesus wished to be regarded as the Promised One of the Old Testament—the Chosen of Jehovah, who should mediate perfect salvation to His people. Did He not point the puzzled Baptist to His acts of healing as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, and warn him against being offended? (Matt. xi. 3-6). Did He not describe John as one who was more than a prophet, because the era of prophecy had closed and the fulfilment had begun in him—the forerunner of the Messiah? (xi. 9 f., 13 f.). The same thing must have held good when Jesus spoke of the Messianic agitation among the people according to its phases of light and shadow (xi. 12, 16 f.), and in contradistinction to the Baptist represented Himself as the Son of man (xi. 18 f.); as well as when He declared Himself to be He who alone knew and perfectly revealed the Father (xi. 26 f.), and who was more than the temple, greater than Jonah and Solomon (xii. 6, 41 f.); and so, too, when He required of His disciples that they should suffer persecution for His sake (v. 11), and for His sake give up life itself, loving Him more than father and mother (x. 37, 39). And when He said that in His labours the kingdom of God had come (xii. 28; comp. xi. 11), counting the disciples blessed because they had beheld what the prophets and righteous men of the Old Covenant had desired in vain to see, we cannot suppose that these utterances were without effect (xiii. 16 f.). It is indeed a simple historical impossibility that the people who hung upon His lips in ecstasy should never have entertained the expectation of His being what He Himself claimed to be, or of His bringing what the nation longed for so anxiously.

why this is not expressed distinctly; the Gospels have only preserved isolated traces of the real course followed in the development of Jesus' ministry, they say nothing of the incidents after the feeding of the multitudes, for these had almost no importance for the later religious view of Jesus' life, and it was impossible for the disciples to suspect the revulsion of feeling these had produced among the people. We can understand then how it was that Mark, as his representation seems to show, could apprehend as he did the great significance of Peter's confession in regard to which the traditionary accounts leave room for no doubt. In view of the narratives related at an earlier period by Mark himself, and taking into account our entire older tradition, this conception of his is an insoluble enigma. But even criticism commits a palpable error when, instead of accepting the solution of this enigma offered by John, it deduces the entire non-historicity of the Fourth Gospel from a view entertained by Mark which is historically impossible.

But even in the Fourth Gospel we meet with this same confession by Peter (John vi. 68 f.),[1] although certainly there the inducement seems to be different. It is not a question as to what the disciples, in contradistinction to the people, thought of Jesus, but whether they also would go away, as the greater number of His followers had done (vi. 67).[2] But

[1] It has certainly been doubted, or rather it has hardly been made a question, that the same scene is intended here as that which took place in Cæsarea Philippi. And yet to assume that such as this occurred twice within a short space of time, is to destroy the importance of the incident which is given such importance to in all the Gospels. It is said on the other hand that the fourth evangelist intentionally altered both time and place, showing himself thereby utterly unreliable. But the truth is that he says nothing about the place, and it is an entirely arbitrary supposition on the part of criticism to assume that he has transferred Peter's confession to Capernaum. With respect to the time, Mark's account as well as John's is preceded by the feeding of the multitude and the demand for a sign; but just as little in one case as the other is there any thought of this scene having followed directly upon the demand for a sign. This is evident from the fact that the apostasy of Jesus' adherents, with which the talk in John is connected (vi. 66), could only, in the nature of the case, have become apparent by degrees.

[2] If the letter of the Johannine account is insisted on, it is quite possible to show that it cannot be historical. For this question is not connected with anything uttered on that occasion, but with a remark made by the evangelist concerning the falling away of the Galilean followers (vi. 66), to whom Jesus could not of course refer.

we find it assumed in John's account that on some one occasion Jesus and His disciples must have discussed the apostasy of His followers, and indeed of the entire Galilean populace; and this supposition is confirmed by the synoptic report. The fact of Jesus asking His disciples what the people thought of Him, and its being evident from their answer that they regarded Him as anything rather than the Messiah, shows clearly that the Galileans had ceased to believe in Him, and were in consequence no longer adherents. It is therefore quite indifferent whether Jesus said, "But who say ye that I am?" (Mark viii. 29), or, "Would ye also go away?" (John vi. 67). But it is John only who makes it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that Jesus did not ask if they *already* acknowledged Him to be the Messiah, but whether they *still* so regarded Him. This talk about the disposition of the people does not prove, then, that they did *not yet* look upon Him as the Messiah, but that that was the case *no longer*. But not only does John confirm the only possible view of the synoptic representation of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, if we proceed upon their presuppositions, but it is he who first makes it comprehensible. It is from his account that we learn why it was that Jesus propounded this question to His disciples then and there.[1]

We know from John that behind this question lay the momentous experiences which had fallen to Jesus' lot in Galilee in consequence of the feeding of the multitude, and the great impression produced by the scene with the people which followed upon that. Months had elapsed since then.

[1] It is somewhat singular that the criticism which regards the synoptic tradition as sufficient, should never have considered how it was that this question regarding popular opinion, which was really an inquiry into the results of Jesus' previous ministry, should have been put by Jesus to His disciples when at Cæsarea Philippi. That was a neighbourhood He had never visited before, and it might have been reasonably expected that He would rather have chosen the ordinary scene of His ministry. But when it is said to have been desirable for Him to withdraw into some solitary place with His disciples in order to confer with them in regard to this important question, here again we cannot understand how it is that the locality where this dialogue took place could be so indelibly impressed upon our tradition. We are frequently left entirely in the dark regarding the scene of some of the most important addresses and incidents connected with Jesus' ministry. All the enthusiastic descriptions given us of this neighbourhood do not alter the fact that the district in which this scene took place is of no consequence whatever.

Israel had betaken itself to its great yearly meeting-place—the feast of Passover; but He had not been found there of whom it had once been hoped that He would prove the Saviour of Israel. The people had had sufficient time to get accustomed to their new attitude towards Him, and to deduce the consequences of these late events in Galilee, which at the feast had become the common property of all. To the most remote corner of the Holy Land the pilgrims to the feast carried the finding of these deliberations, the verdict which was passed from mouth to mouth: He may be a great prophet, perhaps even a herald of the Messianic era, but He is not the Messiah. It was then that after a prolonged sojourn in the land of the Gentiles, Jesus again stood within the limits of the Holy Land somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi. With utter astonishment the disciples perceive the change which in the meantime has come over the people. Their amazement and perplexity are depicted in their very countenances. But it has not been a purposeless act on the part of Jesus to take them with Him on His journey far beyond the boundaries of the Holy Land while this change was taking place, which He must have foreseen. Now it is apparent even to their eyes. Taking the initiative, Jesus Himself begins to speak of what is filling all their hearts—the desertion of the people. But, enjoying as He did on this journey uninterrupted intercourse with His disciples, He has had a unique opportunity of accomplishing some of the best work of His life; and now the hour is come for gathering the fruit of His labours. He knows what His disciples will answer when He asks them what they think of Him. In this case, too, it is from John we learn what the deepest meaning of that question was. All Jesus' sorrow at being deserted by the people, all the anxiety felt by Him in regard to His chosen ones, still trembles in the touching words, "Would ye also go away?" He desires to make them conscious of what they had gained from intercourse with the Master, and particularly from the last journey with Him. And He had not been deceived in them. We can understand now why it was that Jesus forbade His disciples to speak to the people of His Messiahship (Mark viii. 30). It was not because the people were not to hear of this (for it

was the constant subject of conversation) so long as they had any hope of having their expectations fulfilled by Jesus. The simple reason was the stimulus it would give to vain hopes, as well as the encouragement it would be to impossible desires, or it might be because it would have involved the disciples in fruitless disputations regarding the nature and calling of the Messiah, a controversy for which they were very far from being prepared. They were doubtless assured of His being the Messiah, but still they had by no means given up their national longings, nor were they yet in a position to understand perfectly how it was that Jesus was carrying out His Messianic calling. This was another reason for silence, and Jesus Himself held His peace till at His last entry into Jerusalem the hour came of which He said: If these men hold their peace, the stones will cry out (Luke xix. 40).

The importance of this day at Cæsarea Philippi is attested completely and finally, in the apostolic source lying at the foundation of our older Gospels, by the answer Jesus gives to Peter's confession.[1] For He counts Peter blessed, not only because of his confession, but He justifies this commendation by explaining the importance of his acknowledgment. Once before Jesus had spoken of the divine revelation which revealed to babes what was hidden from the wise and prudent (Matt. xi. 25), and of that drawing from the Father without which no one could come to the Son or be a true disciple

[1] All that can be directly proved is that this source contained the commendation of Peter and the promise made to him (Matt. xvi. 17 f.). But of course it follows from this that some reference must have been made in it to his confession and what led to it, although as usual without any mention of time or place, and really only as an introduction to the words of the Lord. The idea of Matt. xvi. 17 f. being an addition made by the evangelist is absolutely untenable. These verses exhibit clear traces of the oldest source, indeed the original Aramaic foundation can frequently be discerned still; and the way in which, in contradistinction to these verses, ver. 19 betrays itself to be an addition of the evangelist's own, presupposes some documentary intelligence. In general, the account given in the first Gospel of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi (xvi. 13–16, 20) seems to be essentially a redaction of that in Mark; but the way in which Jesus asks there what the people think of the *Son of man*, looks like a reminiscence of some more original account; and the way in which Mark anticipates in vi. 14 f. the enumeration of the different kinds of opinions, leads to the conclusion that he possessed such an account in writing.

(John vi. 44). Now He led Peter's acknowledgment[1] back to a divine operation which revealed to Peter what was hidden from others—that witness which was borne to Jesus by His own words and deeds. But what He contrasted with the faith confessed by Peter was not an earlier disbelief, but quite a different kind of faith, one manifested by flesh and blood, and therefore resting upon ordinary human *motives* (Matt. xvi. 17). The popular belief had been of this kind; it rested on the authority of the great prophet who had pointed to the Messiah who should come after him, and upon the sensuous impression of divine power and unlimited miraculous aid made by Jesus' words and deeds, which caused the people to look for great things from Him. It was upon *motives* such as these that the disciples' faith at first rested; and since Jesus here describes it differently, it is evident that what even the apostolic source referred to was not the rise, but the testing of their faith in the Messiah. This, however, could only be apparent when the people had given up their belief in mere authority and miracle-working because Jesus did not come up to their expectations, while the faith of the disciples continued stedfast, being produced in them by divine power. It was the witness borne to Jesus both by His words and deeds which produced such an impression upon Peter, and the feeling thus aroused by divine power took complete possession of him.

Once more we find that John gives us the best commentary on these words of Jesus.[2] There is no doubt that at first the disciples as well as the people had come to Jesus in the hope of His fulfilling their national expectations, and that they were bitterly disappointed when He refused to do so. In consequence, however, of their intimate and

[1] But, according to what was said by all the Gospels, this was not an advanced dogmatic acknowledgment of Christ's nature, but the simple recognition of His Messianic destiny; it was therefore not an entire subjection of the popular expectations indulged in by the disciples, for again and again these make their appearance afterwards.

[2] It may be said, indeed, that the way in which the fact of Peter's confession is explained bears evident traces of John's didactic language, and shows a reference to statements by Jesus which had no direct connection with this scene (vi. 63, comp. with ver. 63). But however it might be done, it is certain that Peter would in some way or other give the reasons for his confession, or else

constant intercourse with Jesus a new religious life had dawned upon them, and these weeks and months which He had devoted to them had been of incalculable benefit in making the bond indestructible. Now they knew what to think of Him and of His words. However much might afterward be lacking to the fulfilment of their expectations, they could never separate themselves from Him who had quieted the longings of their hearts. Only He, who had already given them the greatest of all gifts, could be the ultimate Fulfiller of the hopes of Israel. "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life" (John vi. 68). This deep inward experience, gained by the disciples in intercourse with Jesus, must have bound them closely to Him, and can only have been produced by a divine operation revealing to them His true significance, and making them thereby genuine disciples.

In the apostolic source the commendation of Peter is immediately followed by a promise being made to him (Matt. xvi. 18). There is no question here of the bestowal or the confirmation of the name Cephas. By alluding to the name which He had given him long previously (John i. 43; comp. vol. i. p. 370 f.), of course with a reference to the special quality which it described, and which was peculiarly characteristic of Simon, Jesus gave expression to the hopes He rested upon this quality of His disciple. When Peter held to the acknowledgment of Jesus' Messiahship, and even owned his belief joyfully before any of his companions had done so, and that at the very moment when it was evident that the popular belief had been built upon sand, he showed himself for the first time to be the man of rock which Jesus' acumen had seen him to be. In the closing parable of the Sermon on the Mount, *that* house only has

Jesus must have read them in his heart when He counted him blessed because of them. And what John records as being said by Peter corresponds topically and exactly with all that we must suppose to have been his *motive*, judging from the words of Jesus. It certainly sounds like a reminiscence of the commendation bestowed upon Peter, and of the reference to the revelation of the heavenly Father, when just before this scene took place the evangelist refers to words uttered by Jesus. He does not mention what led to them, and he expresses them in his own way as follows: "No man can come unto me, except it be given unto him of the Father" (John vi. 65).

stability which is founded upon the rock (Matt. vii. 24 f.); and so it was, humanly speaking, to this man of rock that Jesus was to owe the firm stability and coherence shown by His Church. Jesus compares the intrepid firmness which was thereby to be secured to His Church with the most stable of created things. There is no reference here to a victory over hell and death; the meaning is that the gates of Hades, which can be opened by no one behind whom they have once shut, shall not surpass it in firmness. We see from the Acts of the Apostles that Jesus was not deceived in Peter, and Paul mentions him as being among the pillars of the Church (Gal. ii. 9).[1]

It is important to notice that it is here, for the first time, Jesus speaks of His Church. Hitherto His labours had been directed to the people, united as they were through their common descent from the patriarchs and their dedication to the congregation of Jehovah by the covenant sign of circumcision. It was among the people He had desired to establish the kingdom of God, which was nothing different from the consummation of the theocracy always looked forward to by

[1] No permanent primacy is here conferred on Peter, much less bestowed on his successors. There is therefore no necessity to make Jesus' promise refer only to Peter's faith, as has been done through alarm at this inference being drawn. Jesus is speaking expressly of the *establishment* of His Church, and of the important position of Peter in regard to that. It was at an early period, however, that the chief of the Twelve was supposed to have some special importance. In what is a palpable addition of his own, the first evangelist represents Jesus as bestowing upon Peter as master of the house the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and along with them the chief direction there (comp. Isa. xxii. 22); involved in this was the power of arranging everything which pertained to the management of the Church (Matt. xvi. 19). We can see, however, that these words have been taken from another connection, and have been applied to Peter by the evangelist. The proof of this is the way in which the kingdom of heaven is mentioned as being realized in the Church, instead of the Church itself being spoken of. The second portion of these words is still preserved to us in its original connection in another speech given by the apostolic source (Matt. xviii. 18). In that passage binding and loosing have a meaning quite other than when in conjunction with the keys of the steward; in this case they can only be understood as referring to permission or prohibition on the part of Peter being ratified in heaven. But judging from the application of the similar metaphor in the apostolic source (Matt. xxiii. 13), even the figure of the keys must have been concerned with the proclamation of the gospel entrusted to the disciple, which awakened belief in the kingdom of heaven, and so made entrance into it possible; it was only made to refer specially to Peter when interpreted according to Isa. xxii. 22.

Israel. It had never occurred to Jesus to bind His followers into an exclusive community separated from the great congregation. The fact, therefore, of His speaking on this occasion of a Church of the Messiah, presupposes the occurrence of events which made it apparent that He had to renounce for the present the hope of winning over the nation. Had the people only failed to recognise Him as the Messiah, all He needed to do was to proclaim Himself more unambiguously. But now it was necessary to take up some attitude in regard to the momentous fact that His people as a whole no longer believed in Him as their Messiah. The greatest sorrow of His life was caused by the thought of establishing such a distinct Church in the midst of the great congregation of Israel. From this day onward He must have had a clear perception of what the future would bring. It is true that as yet He has not Himself taken the decisive step. We have indeed seen Him preparing for this turn of affairs by a gradual retirement from His public ministry; but to the very end He followed His people with consuming love and zeal, and made every effort to win them. It was only when the people repaid this by delivering Him into the hands of the Gentiles, and the sign of Jonah had been given, that Peter understood the sign, and by administering baptism in the name of Jesus united the disciples into a Church of Christ. This glance cast by Jesus into the future shows us once more that the background of Peter's confession was not an immature popular belief, but desertion on the part of the people.[1]

Peter had spoken in the name of all; but the Searcher of hearts knew that this acknowledgment was no longer echoed by all the others. The crisis undergone by the people had had the melancholy result of which confirmation had just been afforded, and even the Twelve did not escape unscathed. One of their number had mentally turned from Jesus whenever it was evident that no fulfilment of their national hopes could be counted upon, and that the only prospect the disciples had was to be engaged in constant conflicts, for the desertion of

[1] We may gather from this what to think of the usual supposition that the name of the Church of Christ was introduced into Jesus' words from the later apostolic didactic utterances, although there it is nearly always the Church of God or the simple Church that is meant.

the people gave Jesus' enemies power against Him. This malcontent was not satisfied with that great possession which the others had found in Jesus; he was not prepared to sacrifice and suffer everything for His sake. In place of his earlier enthusiasm for the Master arose a bitter feeling against Him who had disappointed his fairest hopes. We do not know how far Judas himself was conscious of the change which had taken place; it therefore seems too soon to ask why he did not dissolve the bond of outward association with Jesus and His disciples. Nevertheless, however, this question must sooner or later have been forced upon his attention. Perhaps his delay in taking action was owing to custom or circumstances, or to a hesitation in acknowledging the change, or there might even be a lingering hope of a favourable turn in the position of affairs—who can estimate the reasons which prevent a man from taking the final step? We cannot doubt, however, that the contradiction involved in his position, and the consciousness of being known by Jesus, must have increased his irritability and rendered him capable of proceeding to extremities.

But he was detected. The evangelist is right when he says that Jesus knew from the beginning who it was that should betray Him (John vi. 64). This, of course, was not from the commencement of their association together, for then it was with confidence and hope that Jesus met Judas as He did the rest of the Twelve (comp. vol. ii. p. 272 f.): it was from the time when that change set in which was the cause of Judas' subsequent treachery; but it certainly does not follow from this that Jesus had now a clear perception of the end which this defection of His disciple would lead to. What He did perceive was that the power inimical to God had gained the mastery over Judas. That was why He said: Have I not chosen you twelve? and one of you is a devil (John vi. 70). It has been suspected that John has here, in his own way, emphasized some words of melancholy prognostication or gentle warning. But that evangelist may well ask that a somewhat more confident reception be accorded to his reminiscences. Does not his way of bringing the change in Judas into conjunction with the crisis in Galilee and the day at Cæsarea Philippi, give us the key for solving the most obscure problems of the evan-

gelic narrative ?[1] And may not the startling severity of these words have been intended to rouse the slumbering conscience of this disciple, and to make him conscious of the abyss before him, leading him thereby to repentance ? The words certainly do not involve a final abandonment. We know that Jesus did not sever the tie with this unhappy disciple, and therefore He must have hoped to the last that He might be victorious even over the devil in the heart of a Judas.

[1] There is certainly something suspicious in the fact that the older tradition represents Jesus, when at Cæsarea Philippi, as addressing a reproof to Peter when he desired to restrain Jesus from entering upon this path of suffering—a reproof in which Peter is described as Satan, *i.e.* as Jesus' tempter (Mark viii. 33). The criticism which rejects the Fourth Gospel regards the account given there as nothing but a re-formation of this story of Peter. But, from that point of view, it is very singular that the evangelist, who, it is alleged, endeavours everywhere to make the beloved disciple rank higher than Peter, should here take the harshest thing said to him and apply it to Judas. There is not a little reason for regarding it as strange, that at the same time, although in a very different sense, Jesus should have described Peter as a devil as well as Judas. The most reasonable explanation is to suppose that Mark has preserved a reminiscence from the history of the temptation (comp. Matt. iv. 10), particularly as these words present a striking contrast not only to the commendation of Peter contained in the oldest source (Matt. xvi. 17), but also to the mild correction which follows it directly in Mark himself (comp. p. 64, note).

CHAPTER VII.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PASSION.

PETER'S confession was the sunny ray illuminating that day at Cæsarea Philippi. But Jesus did not call it forth for His own satisfaction, and still less that the Twelve might rest content with the attainments they had already made. They had stood *one* test; for, notwithstanding the disappointment of their earthly hopes, they had held fast their belief in Jesus' Messiahship. But an incomparably severer ordeal was still to be passed through. And the reason for Jesus directing their attention to the great importance of their acknowledgment of His Messiahship, in contradistinction to the wavering faith of the people, could only be to prepare them for that harder test. The disciples were only in a position to follow the instructions of Jesus, which were intended to show the necessity of His Passion, when they had learned to cling to their faith in spite of the desertion of the people. It is Mark who tells us distinctly that Jesus began this training at Cæsarea Philippi (Mark viii. 31), and he gives a guarantee for the accuracy of his reminiscence by describing the crushing effect these disclosures made on the disciples. On this occasion, too, it was Peter who was most impressed; so affected was he, that, taking Jesus aside, he reproved Him for even thinking of such a frightful termination. Peter did not say this in the hearing of the rest, but they probably knew right well what he intended to do. This is the meaning of our being told that Jesus turned and looked at the disciples when He rebuked Peter. They were all to hear that expostulation would be of no avail if He held Himself bound to act differently from what they expected; the interests to which He had dedicated His life were divine, not human as theirs were (Mark viii. 32 f.). It may be that Peter resented these disclosures from personal love to his Master, as well as from

a still unsubdued residue of worldly hopes; and the same considerations were more or less influential with his companions.[1] But this rendered it more necessary than ever that Jesus should give His disciples further instruction.

Our whole evangelic tradition confirms the opinion that it is impossible to prove that Jesus had ever referred directly to His death before this date. In the Sermon on the Mount, it is true, He spoke of the persecutions for which the subjects of the kingdom of God had to be prepared (Matt. v. 11 f.), but that was only to prevent any encouragement being given to the idea of the immediate establishment of an earthly kingdom, in which the righteous would be protected from the opposition and aggression of the godless. It is only in this sense that He speaks hypothetically of enemies and persecutors (Matt. v. 44), for He leaves it quite uncertain whether they will be Israelites or Gentiles. Simeon and the Baptist had already foretold that the Messiah would be unfavourably received by His people, and that their sins would be the cause of severe suffering to Him (Luke ii. 34; John i. 29); and the disputes with the scribes and Pharisees, as well as with the hierarchy in Jerusalem, showed that Jesus' work would not be consummated without a hard struggle. This was true, but even so there was still a possibility that the struggle might be a successful one, finishing with a glorious consummation of His work even in this life. Now, the reference was altogether different; the words pointed to the suffering and death which were to be His lot — to His temporal downfall. It is true that our tradition shows an inclination to introduce such references into the words of

[1] It is this very mild reproof which is said by some to afford strong confirmation of Jesus having called Peter a Satan whom He was obliged to drive away. But we can call it nothing more than a profound reflection on the importance of this scene, if we may suppose that it was Mark who first regarded this opposition on the part of the disciples as a fresh temptation directed by Satan against Jesus. Mark seems to have put the rebuff into well-known words taken from the story of the temptation (Matt. iv. 10), but which he had omitted to insert in their proper place. And it is not an unlikely idea that he was guided in this by an indistinct remembrance of what Jesus actually did say about Judas (John vi. 70; comp. p. 62, note). Finally, the first evangelist has not only given further amplifications to these words, besides endeavouring to connect them with the rebuke which followed, but he even tells us the form which Peter's dissuasion took (Matt. xvi. 22 f.).

Jesus at an earlier date, but we can still prove from the connection and tendency that originally they could not bear this construction.[1] Not until after the crisis in Galilee was past did we see Jesus oppressed by His baptism of suffering (Luke xii. 50), and hear Him preparing His followers for His departure from earth (John vi. 62). Henceforth His requirements from the disciples had a very different tone from the intimations in the Sermon on the Mount (Luke xiv. 26 f.; comp. Matt. x. 37–39). What He said about the sign of Jonah (Matt. xii. 39) involved the indirect supposition of a death, seeming to human eyes like the shattering of His work, but yet the subject of a miraculous deliverance. But Mark tells us distinctly that now, for the first time, Jesus began to speak openly of His death (Mark viii. 32), so that He may probably have mentioned it figuratively before that. So long as the people attached themselves to Him enthusiastically, any mention of a violent end would have been inexplicable.

It by no means follows from this that the thought of death had only recently occurred to Jesus. Much is said in the present day about the resolution to suffer come to by Him, and attempts are made to explain this psychologically by supposing changes to have taken place in His views or opinions;[2] but Jesus never tried to accomplish the calling of His life by ordinary human methods, the right way was

[1] It is thus that Mark explains what is said of the bridegroom who was suddenly taken away (ii. 20); to John the destruction of the temple has the same bearing (ii. 19), and he even saw in the brazen serpent a prophecy of Jesus' death upon the cross (iii. 14). What is said in John vi. 51–53 of the flesh and blood of the Son of man belongs to the time when Jesus' death was historically approaching.

[2] In the impatient rebuking of Peter has been seen something of the restless passionateness with which people are accustomed to maintain a resolution lately made, although this impetuosity is only indicated in the most doubtful portions of Mark's account. The reason for this resolution has been supposed to be the gradual growth in Jesus' knowledge of the sin dominating the world. Gracious words on the part of God were no longer sufficient to remove the curse; that could only be done through a sin-offering, or through an increase in Jesus' love for the world, and it is this love which is said to have triumphed over the last traces of self-love. We know, however, that from the first He must have been possessed of perfect knowledge of the sin around Him, and that this self-sacrificing love must have been the soul of His whole calling. Renan does not hesitate to see an extreme and almost infatuated exaltation in this determination.

revealed to Him by the Father (comp. vol. i. p. 329). We have equally slender grounds for regarding it as self-evident that at least from the commencement of His public career Jesus could see the cross erected at the end of it, and that He regarded His death as Redeemer as the crowning part of His life's work. It is perfectly certain that the knowledge Jesus had of His coming fate was not merely owing to human prognostication or foresight; it rested upon a God-given certitude which could never fail Him who from His baptism had been the subject of the constant operations of the Divine Spirit.[1] But even this foreknowledge was governed by the fundamental law of all prophetic prediction. Prophecy does not proclaim future events which have no point of contact with the present; it proclaims the realization of the divine decrees in the future in so far as that is prepared for in the present. But this only happens when God makes the prophet's ear quick to hear the footfall of coming events. It was therefore only possible for Jesus to infer the necessity of His death, according to the degree in which the event was made inevitable by its historical preparation. The reason for it was a secret of the divine government; and though the world is not ruled according to a fixed programme, we know that God influences the fate both of men and things. Even that which has been decreed by God from eternity is accomplished by the processes of historical development; and in these processes there is a mysterious co-operation of the two factors,—human freedom and necessity,—the latter of which, according to a divine dispensation, is involved in the circumstances. We shall never be able to explain this puzzle; but we must not forget that in its realization God's eternal decree of redemption was connected with a historical event which, from the nature of the case, could only become a necessity in

[1] We cannot discuss the idea that Jesus foresaw His end in virtue of an omniscience belonging to Him, which was essentially divine (comp. vol. i. p. 330). Proceeding from that conception there can be no true humanity belonging to Jesus, and therefore no historical view of His life. There is also a notion that the dream of an elevated soul, which could resolve if necessary to lay down even life for the cause it had at heart, may have led to the drawing of pictures of death. But this is opposed to what is the most unique feature in Jesus' life—the fact that Jesus' spiritual equipment gave Him a clear knowledge of His calling which far surpassed human forebodings and schemes.

the course of historical development (comp. vol. ii. p. 128, note).

But if, in spite of these considerations, there had still been a possibility that God would make Jesus acquainted with the manner in which His life upon earth would terminate, that would have been nothing but a hindrance to Him, for the knowledge and powers with which He was endowed were all needful for the attainment of the ends He had in view. It would only have paralyzed the moral power and joyful enthusiasm of His work, if Jesus had known from the first that in regard to the people it was all in vain,—that they would finally reject and crucify Him: He had laboured with all His powers, however, to save His people; and although never deceived as to the difficulties of the task, He had left it to God to decide what success should be His, and what means He should take for continuing and completing His task. The reason for His not thinking of His death at an earlier period was not because He had formed a mistaken conception of the results of His labours, or thought that the future might turn out differently: He *could* not do so, for the accomplishment of His task was dependent upon the conduct of the people as well as upon the attitude they took up towards Him. The necessity of His death He learnt from the development of the historical circumstances, and this not because He had hitherto been blinded to it, but only because the development now brought it about.

Judging from what is told us, we can have no doubt as to where Jesus ascertained the historical necessity of His death. The death of the Baptist had been caused by the conflict between his duty as a prophet and the apprehensiveness of an irritated woman upon the princely throne, but it had nothing to do with the universal conditions of the time which might be fatal to Jesus. It was only after Jesus saw the necessity of His own death that John's could have seemed typical to Him (Mark ix. 12 f.). We have observed repeatedly that Jesus had no reason for escaping from the ruler of Galilee, or even for apprehending any hostile action on his part. He knew, indeed, that the Pharisaic party in Galilee and the hierarchy in Jerusalem had decreed His destruction; but so long as the people clung to Him enthusiastically no man

dared touch Him. It is true that some have assumed the gradual growth of adverse feeling among the people; but we hear nothing of this in what the disciples reported at Cæsarea as to the state of popular opinion. No doubt the disappointment had been great; but reverence for the man, and gratefulness for what He had been to them, were still too active for the people to be utterly estranged. He was no longer regarded as the Messiah; for a Messiah who refused the kingly crown seemed an irrational contradiction. But this did not prevent them from looking on Him as a great prophet and pioneer for the Messianic age; His words were listened to eagerly, and His miracles of healing still found general acceptance. Jesus, however, saw His inexorable fate in this state of the popular mind, unchanged though that apparently was, and notwithstanding its really friendly aspect. Circumstances, and even action on Jesus' own part, were to put an end to this amicable neutrality. As He said on one occasion, "He who is not with me is against me." It was necessary for Him to insist on belief in His Messianic commission, and at the same time to prepare a people who were still only too much disposed to entertain such an idea for the final and most bitter undeception of all. When that was done, they were to choose between the authorities and Him who had disappointed their hopes. There could be no dubiety in their choice.

The one unique thing in this tragedy is the fact that the knot was tied by a crime without its equal, and yet that from the circumstances of the case it was almost inevitable. It is in this complication that we find the solution of the enigma—in so far as it can be humanly explained—how an event, dependent upon human conduct, and therefore apparently accidental, could be necessary for salvation, and to the fulfilment of a divine decree. It certainly shows a perfect height of human iniquity when a people with capacities for fostering and developing religion such as no other had had; trained by the divine revelations contained in the law and the prophets; and prepared by an incomparable history extending over many hundred years, which must have made the divine guidance clear to every eye,—when this people rejected the highest and greatest of God's ambassadors, and nailed Him to

the cross. This guilt is the more striking from the fact that this Messenger offered them the fulfilment of their vocation towards the world, the greatest of divine blessings and all human happiness. On the other hand, it was involved in the history and destination of this people, that it was under the guidance of a hierarchy which found that the defence of the religious idea and the preserving of the divine will was compatible with care of their personal interests, and with their love of domination and self-aggrandisement. In a sinful world there never can be a hierarchy which voluntarily gives way to a higher power even when its hour has come, and when a divergence arises between its own interests and the divine will—chooses the latter. And a nation which has been singled out to be religious *par excellence* has the most difficult of all tasks laid upon it. In the present day the sensuous Messianic hopes entertained by the Jewish nation at that period are spoken of with contempt. But it is generally forgotten that, by reason of its history and destiny, national interests were involved in a most momentous way with its religious task. Its prophets had constantly had in view the consummation of both in a way probably comprehensible from the luminous heights which they attained when influenced by a divinely-produced ecstasy. In historical actuality, however, it was necessary to face the momentous question as to where the distinct paths followed by Jesus and the nation were tending. Was it to be *first* religious conversion and moral renovation, and *then* the divine blessing upon the national life; or, *first* the fulfilment of its national desires, and *then* grateful obedience to Him who had accorded His people the greatest of all blessings? But where in a sinful world could a people be found which, when such an alternative was presented to it, would choose the right; a people which regarded the will of God as more important than its own desires? Jesus had done His utmost to bring about a favourable decision. His zeal for God was not greater than His love for the people to whom He was sent, but as time went on He must have felt that it was needful to ask from them what it is impossible for sinful man to give. It was in this He saw the historical necessity of His death, which was required for the salvation of the people.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish between the perception of a divinely decreed fate and a divinely decreed salvation. But to do this is to overlook the fact that for Jesus both were necessary. The divine will which decided the fate of Him who had been commissioned to execute the Messianic office must also have pointed out the ways and means to be used in fulfilling His vocation; nothing could befall Him which was not needful for the performance of His task. But, indeed, there is no such thing as a necessity which God cannot overcome; and Jesus, believing as He did in miracles, knew that His life was directed by His Father's guiding hand. Even in Gethsemane He considers it possible for God to avert the tragic fate which is apparently approaching inevitably. There was always a possibility that the attitude of the people might somehow undergo a change, or that the grace of God might adopt other means for procuring the accomplishment of its decrees. We shall see from the trial before the governor, that even from a human point of view the issue depended upon a very slender thread. But as Jesus saw in the development of events the necessity of His death for the salvation of the people, He must have regarded it as a call to be Himself reconciled to His fate, and to prepare His disciples for what lay before Him. But the utterance of the word which would make that necessity a reality He had to leave to God. In the desert He had cast from Him as a tempting of God the asking for miracles of deliverance. His ethical task, like that of other men, was to yield up the natural love for life and for what makes life worth having, at the divine call which points out the way in which duty is to be performed. In order to do this it was not necessary for Jesus to come to any new resolution. Since those days passed in the wilderness where He overcame temptation there had been for Him only one way, and every step of it was both a struggle and a victory. It was true in His case as in that of ordinary men, that the path which was pointed out to Him by the divinely directed development of events as being that ordained by God, was understood better and pursued with more unwavering joyfulness the farther He followed it. Possibilities there may be beyond this known only to omniscience, and which only omnipotence can carry

out; these may belong to the province of secret communion with God, but for an ethical task, or the work of a human calling, they do not exist.

It was in this sense that Jesus saw the hour had come for speaking to the disciples of the necessity for His death. In the event of that being permitted by God to take place, it must be needful for the accomplishment of His calling, *i.e.* for the salvation of His people, and so indirectly of the whole world. In Jesus' consciousness of His vocation was rooted the certainty of His death being requisite for salvation, whenever He saw it approaching as a historical necessity. It is a mistake to suppose that He read this in the prophecies of the Old Testament. Why, it was the unique character of His religious consciousness which first opened up the depths of Scripture and tapped their living fountains! And it must therefore have been from the innermost consciousness of His calling that He learnt to interpret the Messianic prophecies, whose varied pictures were anything rather than a descriptive programme for His active ministry.[1] Indeed, by refusing the royal crown He renounced the fulfilment of a whole series of brilliant pictures which had been sketched by the prophets. It is indisputable that Jesus frequently proved to His disciples from Scripture that the Messiah must needs suffer. He certainly did so from Isa. liii., from the pictures of suffering which we find in the Psalms, as well as from many other typical forms of the Old Covenant. But He could only discover a prophecy of His death in any one of these when the necessity of that for salvation had been borne in upon Him and made absolutely certain by the historical situation. The Scriptures which testified of Him must also have prefigured in some measure what His end should be.

[1] It is wrong to say that the idea of a suffering Messiah does not occur anywhere in the Old Testament. But even a prophecy like Isaiah, chap. liii., by no means pointed to a rejection by the people, or even to a shameful death as a criminal. It rather referred to the grievous suffering, caused by the sins of the people, from which the Messiah was to come triumphant. It certainly left room for the idea that these sufferings would be caused by the enemies of the people, even if it were the fault of the nation that He was placed in their power. But besides this gloomy picture, there was another and a very different one; and Jesus never objected that, although many features of prophecy seemed to have a miraculous and literal fulfilment, others had not.

When Jesus attained to certainty that His death would take place, and understood the Why of that most obscure of all the divine decrees, it was clearly His task to explain it to His disciples. Many a lonely hour of solitude He must have passed on that long journey through the land of the Gentiles, when He withdrew Himself from His followers, — hours devoted to the consideration of this question, and to prayer for light and power. Only to a very small extent do we know the direction taken by these thoughts of His; they led to that sublime height from which at the Last Supper we see Him looking down upon the significance of His death. If His person exhibited the consummation of religion, His life must also manifest the final and greatest testing of a soul ready to sacrifice everything for the will of God, and in obedience to Him to endure anything. Could He ask others to take up their cross and accompany Him to the death (Matt. x. 38 f.) without giving them an example? No, it was needful for the accomplishment of His calling that obedience to its requirements be approved even unto death. But to Jesus the accomplishment of His vocation had never been a burden; He had always fulfilled it with ardent love to the people for whom it was the happiness of His life to prepare salvation. It was in the confirming of this love by the last of God's messengers that there was exhibited the greatest manifestation of God's love, and that could only be the case in the Messianic epoch. But love can never do enough until it has sacrificed everything for the object of its affections and has stood the severest of all tests. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John xv. 13). These words were spoken by Jesus for Himself as well as for others. Until He had attested both by suffering death for them, He could be as little satisfied with His love for the people as with His obedience toward God. By showing Jesus the historical necessity for His death, God only gave Him the opportunity of fulfilling His vocation to the greatest extent.

But it is not God's method to test merely for the sake of testing. The greatest of all testimonies to the Messiah was necessarily of some importance for the end of His coming— for the salvation and happiness of the nation. Up till now Jesus had exerted Himself in every way to win the heart of

this people for this divine purpose. He had not succeeded. But something was still left to stake, namely, life itself; what the most ardent efforts of affection had not succeeded in gaining might be won, perhaps, by the greatest sacrifice which love could offer. If God demanded this sacrifice from Him, that would show that this was the only means of saving what could still be rescued. Even the good shepherd attacks the wolf who breaks in upon the flock—he dies that the sheep may be saved (John x. 11 f.). And if this sacrifice on the part of affection did not move the hearts of men, Jesus had yet the prospect of that great miracle of the sign of Jonah about which He had spoken at Dalmanutha. When that should prove Him to be the Messiah whom the people and their leaders had slain, would they not strike their breasts with regret? And when He, who was delivered from death and exalted to heaven, took new methods of proclaiming the salvation which had been prepared for the people by that sacrifice of Himself, surely they must then seek this salvation and cease to strain after earthly happiness? This was a last endeavour to convert the people, but it was certainly at a great price. According to the teaching of Scripture and the belief entertained by Israel, death is the recompense of sin, and the judgment of the Holy God upon the sinner who has torn asunder the bond uniting him with his Maker; it separates the sinner everlastingly from life in God and communion with Him. The ban of death rested upon the impenitent people, consigning it irremediably to everlasting destruction. Only He, the Sinless One, was exempt from this fatal ban; and it was needful for Him to taste of death in all its bitterness that His people might be saved from it. This was His last stake. Life for life, the death of the guiltless for the life of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He gave His life a ransom for many, that He might rescue His people from the destruction to which they were doomed on account of their impenitence (Mark x. 45).

Inscrutable are the ways of God: the more we consider them, the greater are the depths disclosed to our view. Through His Messiah God offered grace and forgiveness to Israel. Only by believing in Him could it receive this grace, and with it power to begin a new life. As a whole, however,

the nation had no desire to become recipients of this grace—it insisted upon its bond, and demanded the fulfilment of the Messianic promise as it believed that was to be found in the prophets. This was the barrier which even the grace of God could not surmount; He could not bestow salvation upon an unrepentant people without hardening them in their impenitence. He desired to establish in the nation the kingdom of God in which God's paternal love bestows the daily pardon of sin, and endows men with power to enter upon a new life. But between the nation and their God rose the partition-wall of unrepented sins; each day that this love of their Messiah was rejected added to the pile of guilt, and in accordance with the eternal law of divine holiness and justice, which punishes sin with a more hopeless immersion in sin, this guilt would surely end in the Messiah being slain (Matt. xxiii. 32). The most remarkable feature about this divine dispensation was, that the historical fact forming the culminating point of the sin of humanity, offered the means for conquering it. The sin which seemed to separate the nation from God for ever became, through the obedience and the love of Jesus, which permitted it to do its worst upon Him, the means for winning the nation, or such part of it as it was yet possible to affect. The only atonement for sin is when that which hinders the consummation of the divine will becomes the means of its realization. Through Jesus' voluntary giving up of Himself to the death which sinners had prepared for Him, sin was atoned for when at its culminating point; and thus to this guilt-laden people God was able to offer grace and forgiveness. It is true that the Old Covenant was possessed of a gracious ordinance, in which God Himself gave the people a means of propitiation, and on the ground of this sacrifice promised to forgive their sins. This way of atonement, however, covered only a very limited number of faults of omission. Now, it was a question as to that terrible act forming the culminating point of the sinfulness of humanity, and which, according to the ordinance of divine justice, must everlastingly separate man from God. God's grace had been manifested in the sending of the Messiah; and if He permitted this enormity to happen, it could only be in order to procure an atonement sufficient for the sins of the whole world. Thus Jesus was to

be the propitiatory sacrifice, purifying the sin-stained people with His blood, and enabling them to enter into a new covenant relationship with God (Mark xiv. 24); His blood was to be shed for many for the remission of sins (Matt. xxvi. 28).

The more we see that Jesus did *not* regard His death as an unalterable fate, the less reason have we to assume that the historical details of the circumstances accompanying it were known to Him beforehand.[1] But it is impossible to suppose that Jesus had any fear of His enemies somehow removing Him quietly out of the way. His Father's protection was a sure safeguard against that. If His death was to be the result of His rejection by the people, it would only be brought about by the ecclesiastical authorities whose mortal enmity He was conscious of having aroused, and whose power against Him increased as He was deserted by the people. There is no indication to show how Jesus tried to make the necessity of His death clear to the disciples. But it is certain that He did not and would not give them a formulated doctrine as to the bearing of His death upon the

[1] It is quite comprehensible why more definite predictions should have been early supposed to exist in indefinite intimations made by Jesus. It was that age more especially which regarded the prediction of details as the attestation of the prophetic gift, and along with the incontestable certainty that Jesus foresaw His own end, it assumed such predictions as a matter of course. Seldom, however, is it observed that we are really very ignorant of the way in which Jesus told His disciples of His approaching death. Mark endeavoured to show how the training of the Twelve, to which Jesus now devoted Himself exclusively, was principally concerned with the need for His death; the portion of this Gospel which relates to the training of the Twelve is so arranged that each of the three sections commences with an account of how Jesus instructed His disciples in regard to this. Only in the third passage is a prophecy to be found, and even that appears connected with a much later historical *moment* (x. 32-34). The first two do not refer to traditionary utterances of Jesus (viii. 31, ix. 31), but only to a statement of the general purport of these instructions. Mark's redactors first put definite words by Jesus into these passages, although without actually going beyond what Mark already gave; only, in giving the first instruction from Mark x. 33, the first evangelist clearly anticipates the going up to Jerusalem (Matt. xvi. 21). In Mark's account there is no increase whatever in the clearness or definiteness of the instruction given. On the first occasion Jesus tells the disciples that the Son of man must suffer much, and that His death will be brought about by His rejection at the hands of the ecclesiastical council (viii. 31). In the second instance the subject of conversation is Jesus' deliverance into the hands of hostile men (ix. 31; comp. i. 14), but nothing is said of the treachery of Judas, or of Jesus being surrendered to the Gentile civil power.

salvation of the world. Peter's horrified protestation when Jesus first began to speak of His sufferings and death (Mark viii. 32) is sufficient evidence that this thought was still perfectly incomprehensible to them. And, even at an after period, Mark tells how they were unable to understand what Jesus said about His being delivered into the hands of men. They probably suspected that much that was in prospect was both difficult and melancholy, and that being so, they refrained from inquiring further (ix. 32). With a very human shrinking from the terrible, they purposely closed their eyes to what was coming. Under such circumstances as these there was no presupposition for their apprehending the importance of Jesus' death for salvation. This is why we must rely upon single indications belonging to a subsequent period to show in what manner Jesus announced it. And the truth is, that not till that parting supper on the evening of His betrayal did Jesus perceive He could show them the significance of His death in a way which they could not mistake or ever forget.

Wherever Mark mentions Jesus' announcement of His Passion, he combines with it a reference to His resurrection after three days (viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34).[1] Jesus' sorrow at parting from His disciples has been regarded as quite unintelligible if He really had this resurrection in prospect; but to say this is to forget that even that would not re-establish the human intercourse He had had with the disciples. Besides this, it has been alleged that the sacrifice of His life lost in grandeur through this assurance; but the shrinking from death is a genuinely human feeling, and cannot be removed by any certainty of a future deliverance from the state of the dead. It was, moreover, needful that Jesus should have this assurance.[2] If He was called on to regard His death as a means for fulfilling His Messianic

[1] Just as in the explanation of the sign of Jonah (Matt. xii. 40) these three days are nothing more than a proverbial expression for the fact that God would cause this state of death to be of short duration (Hos. vi. 2; comp. Jonah ii. 1; 1 Sam. xxx. 12). It was later tradition which first saw here a distinct prediction, and was obliged to remove the incongruity between the prediction and the fulfilment by speaking of the third day (Matt. xvi. 21, xvii. 23, xx. 19; Luke ix. 22, xviii. 33).

[2] The rationalism which refused to accept the fact of a resurrection could not possibly admit that it had been foreseen. It regarded these references as

calling, it was impossible that it could put an end to a ministry which—far from attaining its ultimate purpose—had hardly laid the foundations; for after His death even these appeared somewhat doubtful. Even although Jesus knew that His death did not mean the breaking up of His work, but would rather communicate to it a fresh impulse, yet owing to the weakness of His disciples He could hardly expect them to get over the difficulty unless something happened quite out of the usual course of events that would remove the disastrous impression made by His death. This could only be effected by a divine miracle rescuing Him from death, such as He had directed attention to already when He spoke of the sign of Jonah (Matt. xii. 39). Indeed, for Himself this miracle of deliverance was the necessary justification (John xvi. 10). The Sinless One could not die the death which is the recompense of sin unless God Himself declared by a miracle without its parallel that He was not, like other sinners, to remain under the power of death. But such a miracle as this could not merely be a divine demonstration in Jesus' favour; His deliverance was rather to be the means for giving Him back to His Messianic activity, putting Him in a position to prosecute it by fresh methods, and so ensuring the accomplishment of the work, without which He could not be the Messiah. Each of these ends was only to be attained through a speedy resurrection.

It is true that even those who admit Jesus' personal assurance of His resurrection have generally regarded His prediction of it as unhistorical, because irreconcilable with demonstrated facts. But this supposition rests upon a twofold misconception. The first two passages in Mark (viii. 31, ix. 31) which tell of the instruction given to the disciples, say nothing as to the form in which Jesus referred to His resurrection.[1] From what is said about the sign of Jonah,

only misunderstood intimations regarding the immortality of Jesus' work, and the fresh impetus that would be given to His cause in consequence of His dying victoriously. But even Weisse acknowledges that the assumption of a continuous personal activity which protected His work from destruction and led on to victory was a necessary part of Jesus' Messianic consciousness. If, along with this, He really brought about the consummation of salvation, His earthly ruin could not possibly be the final end.

[1] Mark does not give the exact words in which Jesus predicted His death

we see that Jesus knew right well how to intimate the fact astutely (Matt. xii. 39). But it is certainly a mistake to suppose that the disciples can have understood the meaning of a remark respecting His resurrection on the third day, which, if not upon the occasion in question, must have been uttered by Jesus at a later date (Mark ix. 9, xiv. 28; comp. Matt. xxvii. 63; Luke xxiv. 21). We do not require to remember that anything about His resurrection must have been a twofold enigma in the degree in which they failed to apprehend what He said of His death; Mark's statement as to their want of understanding, referred to their lack of apprehension both as regards Jesus' death and His resurrection (ix. 32). We still possess a reminiscence which seems to show that even Jesus' confidants were not clear as to what this rising from the dead meant (Mark ix. 10). This idea is not generally accepted; but that is owing to the common assumption that in speaking of His resurrection Jesus connected it with a current conception among the people. But the only conception which could be so described was that Pharisaic idea of a resurrection to earthly life which Jesus so earnestly controverted (Mark xii. 24). And even if the disciples had seized upon this idea, it would not have aided in the solution of the problem presented by these words; for according to them it was absolutely essential that this restoration to earthly life should come after the last judgment (John xi. 24), since it was manifestly intended that participation in the glory of the Messiah's temporal kingdom should be made possible for those who had died early. Jesus' participation in the resurrection which awaited the whole number of the righteous could not be a new idea to the disciples, nor could it comfort them for His death. And besides, it was distinctly controverted by the fact that He did not speak of a rising on the last day; it was to happen soon. They might perhaps have hoped from this that the Messiah's kingdom, to which their hopes were still directed, was now

or resurrection, he only shows that Jesus always united the announcement of His Passion with a resurrection after an elapse of three days; He regarded both as being indissolubly connected. After what has been said above we must regard this as understood from the nature of the case, and it is certainly confirmed by John x. 17 f.

before the door; but Jesus carefully destroyed every hope of the erection of a temporal kingdom, and described the progress of His vocation in a way that seemed to indicate a melancholy ending rather than the ascension of a throne. They must have seen this, although in general they were accustomed to look for anything else in Jesus' bold metaphors than what He intended to shadow forth.

What He did mean was something which until then had never been heard of; the disciples only understood what it was when the fact of Jesus' resurrection made it clear to them (comp. vol. ii. p. 367). He did indeed quit the grave and appear before His disciples; but it was not to re-enter His earthly life, and in a perishable body to suffer the death once more to which everything earthly is doomed. When the limitations of this temporal existence were removed, He was immediately transferred to a heavenly, from which He could continue His ministry in another way and with very different results. It was to this future that Jesus referred when He spoke of His resurrection. What wonder that the disciples did not understand until the ascension of their Master had given them a glimpse into that celestial world which had been veiled from the gaze of the Old Testament saints!

CHAPTER VIII.

HOPE OF JESUS' SECOND COMING.

THE prediction of the resurrection, because not understood, was nothing more than a feeble flicker of light penetrating the murky clouds of that evening at Cæsarea Philippi. The shadows were to be darker still. Our tradition has retained a deep impression of the fact that in connection with the announcement of His own Passion Jesus held out the prospect of just such a fate for His disciples; and we can still point out the words in which He did so.[1] It was indeed very probable that while thinking of His approaching earthly ruin, He should speak of the vocation of the Twelve, and of their mission to the nation, which could only be efficiently undertaken after His departure. And in doing so it was only natural for Him to look back upon their first commission (Book iv. chap. ix.). He reminds them how He sent them forth at first without purse, or wallet, or shoes; and He asks whether they had ever suffered want (Luke xxii. 35). He had then bid them set out without preparation or precaution in order that they might learn to rely on the providential care of their God and the gratitude of their fellow-countrymen, and this confidence of theirs had not

[1] Mark transfers to the day at Cæsarea Philippi those utterances by which Jesus placed the most difficult requirements before His disciples (viii. 34 f.; comp. p. 18, note), although he himself indicates that they were addressed to the larger band of followers, who had even then deserted, for Jesus was there alone with the Twelve. John, too, incidentally connects the fate of the disciples (xii. 25 f.) with the prediction of Jesus' death (xii. 24); and even in the oldest source the first reference to His Passion (Luke xii. 49 f.) must have been united with a prophecy of its dividing the nation (xii. 51–53). On account of the metaphors common to both the prediction and the address, this prophecy can only be the continuation of a discourse with the Twelve in which Jesus put before them the prospect of many a severe conflict (Luke xxii. 35–37). Luke has transferred this to the Last Supper, recollecting rightly that it was really there Jesus directly predicted their fate (John xvi. 4).

been misplaced. They were obliged to answer His question in the negative. At that time they had found the hearts of men open, friendly reception had been accorded to them everywhere, and their wants had been supplied by the offerings of grateful affection. Now, they are told by Jesus that the times are changed, and that they will find things very different when they set out after His death. They will be obliged to provide for their own wants, and that amongst an inhospitable people: He that hath a purse shall take it with him, and likewise his wallet with provision for the journey; and he who hath not a sword shall sell the most necessary of all his garments and buy one (xxii. 36). There can be no doubt as to what Jesus meant by this. He had certainly no intention of instructing the Twelve how they ought to be equipped, nor of bidding them arm against the danger of attack. But it was needful that they should be prepared for want when in pursuit of their vocation, and for meeting the opposition from the people, which would form their greatest difficulty. Jesus did not leave them in any doubt as to what would be the reason of this. He had already found it prophesied that the Messiah should be counted among the godless (Isa. liii. 12). This prediction was to be accomplished in the death which was drawing surely on (Luke xxii. 37). And if He died the death of a criminal, it was evident that they who proclaimed Him the Messiah would encounter hostility from the people.[1]

This gave Jesus an opportunity of enunciating what in the

[1] Judging from the disciples' misconception, of which Mark tells us (viii. 16), we must consider it probable that they struggled to the last against the simple meaning of these words, and thought that their equipment was to be with swords; we are told that Jesus turned from them with a sorrowful sigh at their want of understanding (Luke xxii. 38). But when Luke transferred this conversation to the Last Supper, it is very likely that he recollected how Peter had actually armed himself on the night of the betrayal in order to be prepared for all exigencies, and that he supposed this act was induced by a misconception of these words. In any case, it was not because of a misunderstanding that Jesus broke off this dialogue; for it is evident that an address was originally connected with it which is devoted to an explanation of what was said about the sword (xxii. 36). In Luke (xii. 51-53) the interpretation of this figure (ver. 51) has caused the connection to become indistinct. But the first evangelist has still preserved the original form (Matt. x. 34-36), and it is evident from his placing these injunctions in the "ordination charge" that he had found them in his source as having been directed to the Twelve.

address to His disciples (Luke xiv. 26 f.; comp. chap. iv.) had only been the presupposition of His demands. The nation had dreamed of the great kingdom of peace which the Messiah was to erect immediately. But it was now their own fault that the first result of His appearance was of so different a character. If His earthly existence terminated with a criminal's death, His resurrection might gain some over to believe in His cause; but a division in the nation was unavoidable, for there could be no peace between those who regarded Him as a deceiver and those who held Him to be the Messiah. The flame of dissension must certainly break out (Luke xii. 49). The disciples were not to imagine that He was come to produce peace on earth as if by magic. That hope was indeed to be realized, but under present circumstances it could not be without a hard struggle. He did not come to bring peace, but a sword (Matt. x. 34). It is evident from this that the sword of which He spoke was only the symbol of the malevolent separation which was to divide the nation, and produce a life and death struggle. This was a conflict which would penetrate into the sanctuary of the family, separating parents from children, so that Jesus could say with the prophet Micah (vii. 6): A man's foes shall be they of his own household (Matt. x. 35 f.).

But, finally, in the speech at Cæsarea Philippi in which Jesus tells the disciples of the lot they may expect, Mark has preserved words which have no reference to exigencies the disciples are to be prepared for, but to an undoubted dilemma they had to make up their minds about, and which therefore was probably treated of in these discussions. It is when the acknowledgment of Jesus separates them from their nearest and dearest, and they have nothing but trials before them, that Jesus' question applies: What doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? For what should a man give in exchange for his soul? (Mark viii. 36 f.). It is the soul whose fate will be decided at the last judgment. Is it doomed to death? then all the possessions in the world can avail nothing, for death separates from them eternally. Thus it is necessary to be prepared for any sacrifice that may be required. But Jesus must have held out to His disciples the prospect of something besides this condition of conflict

and suffering. Behind His own death was the resurrection; and so, too, behind the announcement of this hard struggle there must have been a glimpse of the final victory of Christ's cause. In another of Mark's inestimable reminiscences we learn that in connection with these communications concerning their destiny Jesus for the first time spoke to the disciples of His return. The fate of the soul will then be decided according as the duty of discipleship has been fulfilled by confessing Christ.[1] But the judgment which separates between faithful and unfaithful disciples divides them also from their enemies. It brings victory to that conflict in which the combatants must be resolved to sacrifice their all; and this victory will be ushered in by the Messiah on His triumphant return (viii. 38).

The idea of this second coming rests, in the first place, upon the assumption that Jesus, exalted to heavenly existence through His resurrection, resumes His interrupted work with new methods, and in a more comprehensive degree than during His earthly ministry.[2] Such a ministry as this, however, no longer circumscribed by the limits of time and space, could only be possible in a divine existence. The divine majesty which Jesus constantly ascribed to Himself in prophesying of His second coming is the presupposition of that continuous ministry. It was impossible to mistake Jesus' meaning when He spoke of being personally present with those that are His (Matt. xviii. 20; John xiv. 23), for that presupposed nothing less than a divine omnipresence; and when He chose quotations from the Psalms and the prophets to

[1] It may be regarded as dubious whether the manner is original in which Mark connects this reference to the second coming with an earnest exhortation to attend to the final destiny of the soul. In any case, the tenor of Mark viii. 38 exhibits reminiscences of very varied expressions from the apostolic source (Matt. x. 33, xii. 39, xxv. 31), and in this form is certainly not original; still less, of course, are the parallels in the first Gospel, which betray themselves to be mere redactions of the text of Mark (Matt. xvi. 26–28).

[2] It has been supposed that the parable of the seed-corn (Mark iv. 26–29) expresses the idea that after Jesus returned to heaven the kingdom of God would go on to perfection by its own inherent force; but apart from the fact that this parable is not even an original formation (comp. vol. ii. p. 209, note), its fundamental idea is followed out allegorically. There would be as little truth in saying that the parables of mustard-seed and leaven (Luke xiii. 18–21) indicate in any way that the development decreed for the kingdom of God will be immanent, needing not care and guidance from above.

describe His exaltation to divine power (Mark xii. 36, xiv. 62), He described His participation in the divine government by the figure of sitting at God's right hand. It is impossible that any man, were he never so remarkable for gifts and graces, could look forward to such an exaltation as this without blasphemously passing the limits which separate once for all created from divine life. If the knowledge which Jesus had of His calling required such a continuous ministry even in glory, He must have found the authorization for it in that secret of His self-consciousness which disclosed to Him the unique character of His divine origin. Any form of self-apotheosis can only be attained by a heathen consciousness which obliterates pantheistically the boundaries between life divine and created. Only the knowledge of an originally divine existence could have enabled Jesus to look forward to His work being continued after His death in a form freed from the conditions of earthly labour, and demanding divine attributes of character.[1]

But Jesus' statements do not only refer to such a lasting ministry. Even influenced by them, the work commenced during His life on earth cannot go on unto perfection through immanent capacity of development. That work of salvation which He began is so entirely God's most peculiar task that it can be consummated by God alone. The kingdom of God was only established through the Godlike act of sending the Messiah, and its further development was rendered possible by the equally divine act of raising Jesus from the dead and

[1] Proceeding from statements made by Schleiermacher and Weisse, Weiffenbach has recently attempted to reduce Jesus' prophecy of His return to a mere prediction of His resurrection. Seeing in this prophecy—whether it be of the second coming or the resurrection—only the promise of an activity which Jesus would continue to prosecute even after death, he finds it thereby necessary to discriminate arbitrarily between the nominal meaning of that prophecy and the form in which it is presented to us. We do not see, however, that this theory in any way explains those statements of Jesus, which transcend the most ideal heights of human elevation. This is no question of Jesus' continued spiritual existence, which it has been attempted to compare with the hardly scriptural modern ideas of a purely spiritual existence of all men after death; so that there is some risk of confusing the deepest experiences of Christendom with superstitious apparitions. The question really concerns the divine direction of Jesus' work which was attached to His person; this could only be made possible by the miracle of His resurrection and exaltation, and was only conditioned by the unique character of His celestial origin.

exalting Him to glory; in the same way, the only possibility of this kingdom being ultimately perfected was by another act of the same kind being exhibited in the Messiah's return. It is true that the Old Testament knew nothing of any distinction between the Messiah's first and second coming, although repeated attempts have been made to find this there *ex eventu*. The historical conditions under which the Messiah at His first coming left His work unfinished might be now and again suspected by the prophets, but these suspicions certainly never offered a firm presupposition for predicting the final consummation of the divine decree. When the historical necessity for His death was manifest, then it yielded a presupposition for the necessity of that second divine act which, in a fresh way and by new methods, should complete what, owing to the guilt of the people, had been left unfinished. But if Jesus was really the Messiah, it was only through Him that God could bring about the final consummation of the work of salvation as He had hoped and striven to accomplish it during His life upon earth. For it was self-evident that the great day of Jehovah, of which the prophets had so often prophesied as that which would see the last judgment as well as the consummation of the kingdom of God, could only be the day of the Son of man. And this day, although under conditions other than those of the days of His earthly ministry, was to reveal Him to His own people, as well as to all nations, as the divinely Chosen One who was to bring about this consummation.

In regard to this subject we possess an express declaration on Jesus' part which has probably been taken from the oldest source. When asked on one occasion by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God, which He proclaimed, would actually come, Jesus pointed out that it would not be possible to recognise its coming from any remarkable appearances and events accompanying it; no one would be able to say that it was either in one place or another. This kingdom of God was already in their midst although they knew it not; it was with those who believed upon Jesus (Luke xvii. 20 f.). After saying this, Jesus turned to His disciples and told them that when those calamitous days came of which He now spoke to them so frequently, they would long to see one of the days of

the Son of man; but even though those days came not they must wait patiently for them (xvii. 22). They were not to allow themselves to be deceived by false hopes if it were announced that the Messiah had reappeared; that He was in the wilderness; or even that He was to be found in some of the inner chambers: For as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son of man be in His day (xvii. 23 f.; comp. Matt. xxiv. 26 f.). As lightning is visible in all quarters at the same time, so that no one needs to proclaim its appearance as if it were a secret, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. But first must He suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation (xvii. 25). It was clearly enunciated in this statement, that precisely because Jesus' earthly activity closed with a violent death, was it impossible for the consummation of the kingdom of God to be in uninterrupted connection with its establishment. This connection was broken off by Jesus' death and succeeding exaltation. His second coming, however, would necessarily be of a character very different from His first appearance upon earth. Sharer with His Father in celestial existence, and clothed with the perfect divine majesty which enabled Him to complete His work with new methods, at His second coming He was to be revealed in divine glory. And the service of the angels who, during His earthly ministry, had been the invisible mediators to Him of God's miraculous assistance (John i. 52), would be made visible to all by the retinue of angels who were ever at His service just as they were at God's (Matt. xxv. 31).

The Schleiermacher school dares not venture to exalt Jesus above the level of a man of ideally unique character, and it is only consistent when it explains this prophecy of His return by alleging that it took its rise from the disciples misunderstanding some of Jesus' figurative remarks.[1] This misconception,

[1] Jesus is alleged by this school to have spoken at one time about the triumph of His cause, at another about the judgment of history which He was fulfilling as the head of humanity and the central-point of the world's history, and yet again to have described the development of His kingdom, after the theocracy had been overthrown, in dazzling metaphors which pointed the disciples to His personal return. The more certain it is that the figures by which Jesus described this matter must have been incomprehensible to the disciples, so much the more,

however, has been retained up till now by the whole of Christendom, for it has always made these statements refer to Jesus' personal return in divine majesty. This theory would either prove that Jesus, with unaccountable blindness, made use of a most undidactic method which would necessarily miss its aim, or else the suspicion is aroused that He intended, or at least did not wish to avoid, that most likely apprehension of His figurative addresses. Even if this misconception originated in a desire to preserve belief in the Messiah, it had no idea of being reflected in the highly-strung conceptions of His followers; although this does not alter the fact that morally as well as didactically any such accommodation is most hazardous. It is in regard to this very point, however, that the strict historical view has in many ways destroyed illusions of long standing, and has reduced the question to much narrower limits. The tacit or expressed presumption of that supposition was that these figurative remarks by Jesus were connected with popular expectations, and were interpreted by the disciples in accordance with their understanding of them. In the present day, however, it is generally owned that neither prophecy nor popular expectation anticipated a glorious return of the Messiah, for the idea of a completed earthly ministry was absolutely foreign to them. Even the prophecy in Daniel (vii. 13 f.), which Jesus frequently employed in speaking of His return, loses, by the very fact of this application, the appearance of referring to the Messiah's second coming; for the description there given of the Messiah being invested in heaven with kingly authority is thus really identical with the self-evident presupposition of His Messianic calling. The idea of that return, which was introduced in consequence into certain of Jesus' figurative statements, must,

we are told, would this conduct on Jesus' part be diametrically opposed to the wisdom He usually displayed in teaching; instead of fighting against the sensuously theocratic conceptions of His disciples by such figurative statements as these, He would only encourage them. The assumption that the fourth evangelist at least correctly understood these statements in which Jesus referred to His return in the spirit, rests upon a spiritualizing misconstruction of this Gospel (comp. John xiv. 3, 21, 22). And we are informed that, historically, it is quite incomprehensible that one of the apostles could attain to a so much deeper insight than his fellow-disciples; and that this view is of no value whatever to us if the Fourth Gospel must be ascribed to an Alexandrian Gentile Christian living in the second century, as is done by modern criticism.

it is said, have been the product of apostolic knowledge which adjourned to His return the theocratic expectations unfulfilled in His life on earth. But we must say, such a theory as this is directly contradicted by the fact that nowhere in our Gospels is Jesus' return connected with the hope of an earthly Messianic kingdom. Even when this hope is read into some of Jesus' figurative remarks, although in manifest opposition to His views, it is certainly not in unison with the prophecy of His own return; and this connection, if real, would assuredly have been expressed more emphatically if it had contained the real *motive* which produced the notion of His second coming. This is why it has been recognised by the newer criticism,—as represented not only by Keim and Weizsäcker, but also by Strauss and Renan,—that the whole historicity of the Gospels must be given up if the prophecy of the second coming is held to be a misconception, and that the very speeches which Jesus devoted to this subject are those belonging to the most well-authenticated portions of our tradition.

This certainly places us before a dilemma which, if we would not regard Jesus with suspicion, necessitates our referring this prophecy to a consciousness which far transcended the highest human elevation.[1] In recent times no one has shown more profoundly and beautifully than Weizsäcker how Jesus' prophecy of His second coming necessarily pro-

[1] Renan indeed does not regard it as a difficulty that these chimeras, which were ultimately conquered by the partial truth Jesus was possessed of, strengthened Him in a struggle which He would not otherwise have been able to sustain. He asserts that what in other men would be insufferable pride, in Jesus' case—we can hardly see why—cannot be regarded as pretension, but only as enthusiasm. Strauss, however, has declared that here we have not only to do with that high enthusiasm without which no one can make a great figure in history, but also with an impermissible over-estimation of self, which is neither explained nor excused when he traces it back to Jesus' Messianic conceptions and His employment of Daniel's prophecy. It is no help to say, as Keim comforts himself by doing, that Jesus' central idea, in regard to the history of the world, was an ethical kingdom, while those flowing conceptions were only the separable offshoots of His dependence upon the ideas of the age and the result of His interpretation of the prophet's prediction; and that He protested emphatically against the reproach of crass misconception and intense fanaticism. The fact is not thereby altered that this error on the part of a "noble and beautiful personality" was a great fault, and such a Jesus as Keim pictures could not have made use of this "makeshift" without exposing himself to the just reproaches of a Strauss and a Renan.

ceeded from assurance of His having been chosen, and from belief in His relation of Sonship. But if Jesus only meant to express in it that God would complete what He had given Jesus to perform, such self-conceit would be inadmissible even for the greatest among mankind; no one has any right to assume that the progress or completion of a cause in which God has permitted him to serve is connected with his person. No man is indispensable for the carrying out of the divine decrees; and however much one may aid through his labours or sacrifices, it is ultimately God alone who completes His work, whether making use of man or not. Even the unique Son of man could not be exalted above this law of human existence. But if it were involved in the nature of the highest of all callings—the Messianic—that the work could not be completed without the person, then He who was chosen to this calling had to be qualified by character for advancing claims which in the mightiest among the children of men would be fanatical self-conceit or blasphemous self-deification. Jesus could only possess the assurance of a personal return when, invested with divine authority, He should bring about the consummation of His work, if in the depths of His self-consciousness was the knowledge of a heavenly origin and an originally divine nature, which led His thoughts upwards toward heaven, and back to an existence in the divine glory. We saw long ere this how this feeling was attached to that very passage in Daniel with which Jesus so frequently connected His predictions of return (comp. vol. ii. p. 73 f.).

To the first address in which Jesus referred to His second coming, Mark adds some words of Jesus that are intended to show us how He had presignified the near occurrence of this catastrophe. It was to take place even in that generation; for many of those around Him were to witness the complete development of the kingdom of God (Mark ix. 1).[1] All attempts to deny away the fact that Jesus looked forward to an immediate return, which would enable Him to finish His

[1] Disputes have arisen as to what these words referred to, and it has been supposed that they bore upon each exaction demanded by His work. But neither Mark himself, through the connection in which he introduces the remark, nor his redactors by their setting of it (Matt. xvi. 28; Luke ix. 27), leave any doubt that it referred to the coming of the perfected kingdom of God

work, are wrecked, as we shall see, upon that great speech on His second coming in which He anticipated that that would be directly connected with the approaching catastrophe in Judea (Matt. xxiv.). But in the last resort all His predictions of return rest upon the presupposition that the greater number of His auditors would live to see what He then spoke of. All the power of the comfort and exhortation conveyed in these words consists in this, that His hearers had promised to them, and were even threatened with, the final doom which on His return was to be pronounced upon His faithful and unfaithful disciples, as well as upon the nation and its leaders. It is our inveterate habit of regarding such words of Jesus as directed through the disciples to ourselves, which has prevented us seeing that in their historical sense they were intended to meet the needs of His contemporaries, and that they allude to the experiences which were in prospect. That some—whether few or many—might die a natural or violent death ere the predicted events occurred was so self-evident from the nature of the case, as well as from Jesus' most express prophecies, that neither Jesus nor the evangelists felt it needful to protect such statements against possible doubts. Even the Fourth Gospel finds no difficulty in repeating these remarks in their original form at a time when very few still survived of the generation which had seen and listened to Jesus (John xiv. 3). It is the more unaccountable how the idea could arise that it was the apostolic age which here expressed its expectations in this form of a prediction of the second coming; for without express assertions by Jesus having reference to this, any such expectation in the apostolic age, which to its very close held fast with the unconquerable power of belief to the hope of Jesus' immediate return, is historically incomprehensible. When it is once acknowledged that, without throwing doubts upon the credibility of our whole tradition, the prophecy of Jesus' second coming cannot be explained by misconceptions or by the

on Jesus' return; and this interpretation is the only correct one. Vain attempts have been made to find utterances by Jesus which are opposed to this, and which have had introduced into them *ex eventu*, as in the parables of the mustard seed and leaven, the idea of a development extending over four hundred years.

subsequent introduction of expectations, then the same will hold good of the form of this prediction, which constantly assumes the Messiah's immediate return.

It is this very form, however, which has always presented the greatest difficulty.[1] When the newer apologetics does not join with the older in explaining away the simplest of Jesus' statements in a manner equally contradictory of the words as of the meaning, it has always appealed to this, that the prophetic glance into the future, like the sight of what is far off, is governed by the law of perspective, according to which intermediate space disappears and widely-separated events seem to be situated upon the same line. The only thing overlooked in this theory is that the deception of the bodily eye caused thereby is corrected by daily experience, until, finally, we cease to be led astray by appearances, and estimate the true relation of objects which apparently are at the same distance from us, —a result which does not hold good either in the case of prophecy itself or of those who receive it. That is why this popular figure fails to answer; it never surmounts the fact of the prophets being deceived themselves and causing others to be so too. On this account it has been openly alleged, on the other hand, that even Jesus' prophetic horizon must have been human, and therefore limited. Or, people have sometimes sought refuge in saying that the energy of Jesus' power of faith looked with such perfect confidence for the immediate realization of all the divine promises, that He never misled His disciples, He rather left them the inheritance of His faculty for belief, whose strength consisted in that hope. It is in the latter view we shall find a hint for the true solution of the puzzle. Along with the consciousness of His Messianic mission, Jesus was granted the assurance of the time having come when God would fulfil His promises, and when the people of Israel, and through them all the nations

[1] Strauss and Renan, of course, had no difficulty in acknowledging this fact. They pronounce it to be a genuinely-human error, and the latter especially, a delusion to which all great reformers are liable when they do not allow for the slow rate of progress of the human race. This explanation, however, is founded upon the false presupposition that Jesus looked for the consummation of His work from an immanent development of humanity; and Strauss is more correct when he says that Jesus hoped this completion would be brought about by an act of God's miraculous power.

of the earth, would reach the goal of salvation and religious perfection. The whole body of Old Testament prophecy, however, which Jesus had come to fulfil, knows only of that one day of Jehovah which is to see the dawn of the consummation of all things. Even although the ministry of Jesus, which was devoted to bringing this about, was interrupted by His death, yet God could as little refuse to fulfil His decree as He could disclaim the commencement of the consummation at the time determined by the coming of Jesus, and in the generation which enjoyed His presence. Jesus undoubtedly knew that the accomplishment of that divine decree was assured in spite of its apparent frustration, although only through the employment of new methods. And just as certainly must He have foreseen the practicability of this divine destiny, notwithstanding the entirely different direction taken by matters when He left the earth. This was with Him no idle dream, but a firm belief.

The perfect agreement and final vindication of this course of thought is shown by this, that Jesus indeed believed in God's unalterable decree of salvation, but He held with Old Testament prophecy, that its realization was dependent upon the behaviour of the people and upon His own fate, which was conditioned by the guidance of divine grace and righteousness. His prediction of return is governed by exactly the same laws as the announcement of His Passion. His endeavour to understand the historical necessity of His death left the possibility open to the last that God could counteract it and bring about the realization of salvation by other means. And in the same way, the presupposition of an immediate consummation of salvation, which was educed from prophecy as well as from the fact of His being sent by God, by no means shut out the possibility that God's unsearchable counsel might cause it to be delayed. It is, indeed, unaccountable how people can speak of human error in regard to a point of which Jesus said with the greatest possible distinctness that no one knew anything, not even the Son, but the Father alone (Mark xiii. 32). He did not claim any knowledge as to the day of His return, and therefore His well-founded suppositions must not be pronounced errors, although as a matter of fact it was otherwise resolved in the counsel of God. It

is true that the day and hour might have been unknown to Him, even if in correspondence with His supposition the final consummation had taken place in that generation. But the secrecy with which the Father kept this end from Him to whom He had heretofore made known all His decrees, could only have been owing to the fact that God had reserved that determination, because He made it dependent upon the course of human development, which, according to the regulation followed in His government of the world, was not dependent upon Him alone. This, however, precluded any positive certainty on Jesus' part as to the space of time within which His return had to take place. In the addresses on the second coming He constantly pointed out that that day of final judgment might be delayed longer than was expected, even although it came suddenly at last. The gladsome confidence with which He looked for the immediate coming of the consummation of salvation, cannot have led to His followers' belief being shaken, even although His return was delayed far beyond the limit He Himself had thought of. But it is an undoubted fact that people ultimately comforted themselves for the apparent delay in the fulfilment of the promise by the reflection that it was owing to the unfathomable long-suffering of God, which granted the world a longer interval for repentance (2 Pet. iii. 9). Conversely, any definite determination of the day of His return, even if it had been possible, would only have rocked His disciples in false security, while only the constant and intense expectation, which was the necessary result of His own attitude to this question, could preserve that inward disposition which He required them to maintain during His absence.

In this most gorgeous prophecy of return we find a tiny parabolic speech which gives us a glimpse of what Jesus tried to get His disciples to lay to heart in regard to the expectation of His second coming.[1] He first shows, in one of His most richly coloured parables, how serious a matter it would

[1] This speech (Luke xii. 35–48) is in Luke connected with the remark which says that the hearts of disciples should always be directed to the treasure in heaven, *i.e.* to the final consummation of the kingdom of God (ver. 34; comp. vol. ii. p. 363 ff.). The second portion had been interwoven by the first evangelist into the great speech on the second coming (Matt. xxiv. 43–51), and in the same connection he has put the parable of the Ten Virgins (xxv. 1–12), which

be if His return found His followers unprepared. The scene is a wedding, and the place the house of the bride (comp. John xiv. 10). The bridegroom is expected, and the bride's companions have got ready to go and meet him. His arrival is strangely delayed, time goes on, and the waiting virgins fall asleep; at midnight they are roused by tidings of the bridegroom's approach. Now for the first time some of these damsels perceive that their lamps have no oil. The others cannot possibly share with them, for they have only provided sufficient for themselves; and while these negligent ones hasten to buy supplies, the bridegroom comes, the feast begins, and those who were not in the procession are excluded from the festivity (Matt. xxv. 1–12). Jesus Himself explained this parable by exhorting to watchfulness, since no one knows the hour when the Son of man will return (Matt. xxv. 13). This watchfulness, however, must consist in uninterrupted and untiring zeal to preserve the right attitude by which the returning Lord will test the genuineness of attachment to Himself. By describing circumstances of ordinary life this vivid picture of a wedding shows how the want of the proper preparedness when the Lord comes unexpectedly is necessarily irreparable, and leads to the irretrievable loss of salvation.[1]

The same thoughts seem to have been developed by Jesus in a second illustration descriptive of servants awaiting the return of their lord from a feast; if the servants be found

Luke, judging from xiii. 25, had also met with in his source. Luke seems to have replaced it at the commencement of this speech by the figurative remarks which it suggested (xii. 35 f.), in order to secure an introduction for the second parable-like quotation from the source of which Mark xiii. 35 f. still preserves a reminiscence (Luke xii. 36–38). But it is no longer possible to determine whether Jesus ever gave the parables in this connection, or whether it was the Apostle Matthew who arranged them together because of the similarity in subject. Yet the position in which Luke places them shows that in the apostolic source these paranetic speeches on the second coming were entirely separated from those really predictive; they were probably connected closely with the first announcement of the Passion and the prophecies of grievous conflicts connected with it (Luke xii. 49–53), which, as we have seen, was historically the inducing cause of the first speeches on the second coming.

[1] All the ingenuity of allegorizing expounders has only succeeded in obscuring this perfectly clear parable. In connection with a well-known Old and New Testament symbolism the bridegroom is said to be the Messiah, who comes to bring home His bride, the Church, to the perfected kingdom; and so the members of the congregation whose fidelity is to be tested are represented by the

watching in spite of his long delay, he will reward them by putting them on an equality with himself (Luke xii. 36–38; comp. Mark xiii. 35 f.). It is no longer possible to determine whether this thought was carried out in the form of comparison or in an independent parable, which, as Jesus' manner was, made one of a parable pair. But it is certain that greater prominence is here given to the idea that there might be a long delay, but that the watchfulness which will be tested thereby is to be richly rewarded with the complete reversion of that condition of servitude. It answers well, therefore, when this parable is followed by that of the thief against whom the master of the house can only protect himself by perpetual watchfulness, since he knows not at what hour he may come (Matt. xxiv. 43). Jesus certainly did not mean to compare His return with the breaking in of the thief, and in this parable, too, a protest is entered against all attempt at expounding parables allegorically. Indeed, the real explanation is given by Jesus Himself in an exhortation which makes it abundantly clear that the watchfulness He required consisted in constant readiness for His coming (Matt. xxiv. 44; comp. Luke xii. 39 f.).

In this passage, too, we find the minutely described parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants. This is intended to show how that preparedness for Jesus' coming can really only be proved by the faithful fulfilment of the duties imposed

bridesmaids, as distinct from the bride. The falling asleep seemed to show the want of watchfulness, and yet both the wise and foolish virgins did so; and while the former obtain salvation without a word of censure, the latter are shut out, although certainly not because of their falling asleep. The reason for it seemed to be the lack of oil, and in this way to indicate a spiritual possession, without which no one is fit for the consummation of salvation. But it is impossible that oil, which can be borrowed and purchased from others, can portray a spiritual endowment, and it was really not the want of it which led to their being shut out, but the fact of their arriving too late. This brings one, however, to the absolutely unscriptural doctrine that there is a "too late" when salvation can no longer be attained, notwithstanding the most ardent longings for it; the teaching of Scripture really is that there may be a "too late" for entertaining a desire for salvation, but it is only the want of this desire which excludes from salvation. It was very ill-timed to be indignant at the want of taste shown by the old allegorists who expounded the lamps, the cry, and the shopkeepers, so long as people continued to treat the incidents just as they had done, thus making this pearl of parables an insoluble enigma and the plaything of dogmatic triflings.

by Him. The faithful servant who does his duty is rewarded by his master; the unfaithful, who shamefully neglects his work and gives himself up to a loose life in the fancied security that his master will not come, must surely be overtaken by heavy punishment (Matt. xxiv. 45–51; comp. Luke xii. 42–46). It is not without meaning that the parable speaks of a man who was no ordinary servant, but one whose high confidential post laid him under a special obligation to be doubly faithful, wherefore Jesus Himself deduced the lesson that to whom much is given, of him shall much be required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more (Luke xii. 48).[1] The higher the vocation a disciple receives, the greater is his obligation to maintain uninterrupted fidelity; and this fidelity shows itself to be true wisdom (Matt. xxiv. 45), as in the case of the preparedness of the wise virgins (xxv. 2, 8), because it alone ensures that the final goal of the life of discipleship shall be attained. In a similar way Jesus had shown once before in parables that the true stewardship of a disciple's wealth is exhibited in employing it wisely (comp. vol. ii. p. 256). This true wisdom in the service of Jesus will, however, only be exercised if it is constantly held in view that the time of His coming is uncertain, so that it is necessary to be prepared for it at any moment.

It is evident from all this how easily it might occur to Jesus to combine the announcement of His return with the announcement of His death, and of the separation from His disciples which that must lead to. He not only intended to prepare His disciples for His departure, but so to bind them to His person, that His absence would not affect their allegiance. Everything He said of watchfulness and preparedness for His coming terminated in this, that in the period of separation they were to live looking constantly to Him, thinking

[1] Luke in an allegorizing way seems to have explained the servant of the parable, who was set over the household affairs, by the leaders of the Church, perhaps Peter in particular (comp. xii. 41). This probably induced him to add to the end of the parable those remarks which say that all shall be punished who have not prepared for the coming of the Lord by the strict fulfilment of duty; but most heavy shall be the punishment of those whose duty is so expressly enjoined,—as is here the case with Peter,—and who therefore do not neglect it ignorantly (Luke xii. 47 f.).

of Him, and realizing their responsibility towards Him. When John speaks of the disciple abiding in Christ (comp. particularly John xv.), he plainly refers to exhortations such as these, only he had grasped their deeper meaning and put them in his own mystical fashion. On the other hand, the union of the prophecy of Jesus' second coming with that of His death is the best way of explaining how it was that the prediction of the resurrection was so totally misunderstood by the disciples, and how even that of His death was never quite clear to them. They probably surmised that there might be tragic events and even a grievous separation, but they never realized the fact that it was only to be temporary. This state of matters made it all the more necessary for Jesus to instruct them about His coming fate by means of these parables, and so to prepare them for the coming separation.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE MOUNT OF TRANSFIGURATION.

MARK has distinctly stated that, six days after the eventful days at Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus took His three chosen disciples and led them up into an high mountain apart by themselves (Mark ix. 2). Luke is quite correct when he assumes that Jesus spent the night with them there in prayer, for that was the usual object of such withdrawals (Luke ix. 28). And Matthew must have thought the important occurrences on that mountain worthy of relation, when they were imparted to him by eye-witnesses — he himself not having been present.[1]

The oldest account seems to have simply told how Jesus appeared in the presence of the disciples with glorified countenance, and such a heavenly radiance over His whole form, that even His raiment shone. Our evangelists try to describe this brilliancy by different similes; the first compares it to the pure sunlight, the second describes it as being white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white it (Matt. xvii. 2;

[1] The source of our three synoptical accounts of the events on the mountain is evidently an older narrative, which can only be of apostolic origin, and which has been transcribed most faithfully in the first Gospel, though not without explanations and incidents being borrowed from Mark's version. This source appears to have simply spoken of a mountain, which Jesus climbed with certain disciples (Luke ix. 28), and from that it seems quite useless to try and determine the Mount of Transfiguration more exactly. Since the fourth century, tradition has pointed to Tabor, but later writers think that it is more likely to have been Mount Panion, which was near Cæsarea Philippi, or a summit of the range of Hermon, which stretched to the north-east of that town. There is no evidence, however, that Jesus tarried for another week or so in the region of Cæsarea Philippi; the following events rather indicate the usual scene of His Galilean ministry. As the first evangelist has apparently borrowed from Mark the mention of the high mountain and the names of the three chosen apostles, among them that of Mark's authority, he will also have borrowed the first part of Mark's representation, which has caused the traditional misunderstanding of the occurrence on the mountain.

Mark ix. 3); while the apostolic source most likely thought only of a supernatural light, which shone round Jesus. That the apostles believed they saw therein the glory in which Jesus a few days before had promised to return, is made clear, not only by the mention of the event in the Second Epistle of Peter (i. 16), but also by the relation in which Peter's narrative places these particulars by such an entirely unusual reference to the revelations at Cæsarea Philippi. It is there made incontrovertible that it was a divinely-inspired vision, for it is self-evident that no human eye can look on the celestially transfigured Jesus. Only in a vision, in which the spiritual eye is capable of giving a right explanation to that which appears to the closed physical eye as a miraculous spectacle, could that dazzling apparition of Jesus be comprehended in its divine glory as an image and pledge of His promised second coming. It is possible that even Mark may have thought that such a vision set forth an actual transfiguration of Jesus, for it is undoubtedly he who introduced this expression into the evangelic narrative; but such a miracle would entirely take away the real significance of the incident. If the disciples, with their bodily eyes, saw a supernatural light shining either round or through Jesus, they must have known that a miracle had befallen Him, though its meaning would be incomprehensible to them; for a visible splendour which is seen in a natural way could not be the divinely-glorified body in which Jesus had promised to return to this world. Understood merely as an important experience for Jesus Himself, the transformation deprives Him of His true humanity, which is necessarily connected with a corporeal frame under the limitations of ordinary earthly existence. Jesus did not ascend the mountain with His disciples to undergo anything wonderful Himself, but rather to let His disciples see that which would confirm the greatest of His promises, and arm them for the resistance of the severest trials which the future had in store.[1] The other two parts of

[1] Certainly they could not have beheld this vision if Jesus had not allowed them to participate in His "life of prayer," and if He had not prayed with and for them, in order to strengthen their weak faith. But when Weizsäcker maintains that Jesus granted them a perception similar to His own, he merits Keim's retort, that visions are not in harmony with the whole spirit of the life

the occurrence on the mountain leave no doubt whatever that it was a vision, and not the corporeal perception of actual events; for it can never be seriously maintained that the one part was reality and the others only a vision. Our authorities say absolutely nothing of Elias coming down from heaven, or Moses rising from the grave, but they relate in the most unequivocal manner that, just as figures do in apparitions, the two men of the Old Dispensation appeared to the disciples as ordinary men in conversation with Jesus (Matt. xvii. 3). But the very fact that they recognised these figures to be Moses and Elias shows that it was only a vision, in which, according to the very nature of the circumstance, the comprehension of its meaning was granted along with the spectacle, for it is the meaning alone which is of real significance.[1]

Luke certainly claims to know that they spoke with Jesus of His death (Luke ix. 31); but the oldest narrative says nothing of the subject of their conversation, it only states

of Jesus. He had no need of such manifestations, because the clear, purely spiritual understanding of His inspired life unfailingly comprehended what it was necessary for Him to know. Here also He saw no vision, but it was on His account that God let such be seen by the disciples. From Tertullian to Weizsäcker, theologians of the most opposite tendencies have acknowledged that it was but a visionary beholding of Jesus, and not, as is so commonly assumed from Mark's account, a transfiguration of Jesus Himself. If Jesus could really adopt a transfigured body for several moments, in order to receive a foretaste of His heavenly future in what may be called the temporary emanation of a glorified order of life; or even if a gradual process of transfiguration had been going on in His earthly personality, which is here seen to reach a new stage, as Olshausen and Lange thought,—then Jesus was no real man, but a supernatural apparition, such as haunted the wild dreams of the Docetæ.

[1] Luke probably understood from the older narrative that two men actually conversed with the glorified Jesus, for he makes the disciples, when they awake, suddenly become aware of the scene before them, showing that he remembered the fact of their falling asleep at Gethsemane (Luke ix. 30–32). It is but lately that such an interpreter as Keil has made very learned researches to prove how Moses could appear in the body before his resurrection, seeing that his body, though buried by God, must have gone to corruption long before; or how Elias could appear when, according to the Old Testament narrative, he had been taken up into heaven without dying: but the Old Testament is mute regarding the glorified body which Keil gives him. It is no difficulty to him that the disciples at once recognised the two forms, for he says their features resembled the description given of them in the Old Testament Scriptures, although not the slightest support to this argument can be gained from the Old Testament itself, and it would be impossible to recognise glorified personalities from individual features of their human forms.

that they did converse. Thus the meaning of the vision can only have been to show the disciples that Jesus was in complete harmony with the statements of the law and the prophets, at the very time when the announcement of His death had appeared to make of no effect the most glorious promises of the Old Covenant. The spectacle, then, was to be as a guarantee to them that Jesus' prophesied death would be a complete fulfilment of the Old Testament promises; and in so far a profound truth lies at the foundation of even Luke's narrative.

We need not be greatly surprised that our evangelists did not distinguish more clearly between a visionary experience of the disciples and a real event, for, as in the case of John the Baptist, the appearance of a vision made it possible, and in certain circumstances necessary, that a real event be revealed by a dream, although it be far removed from the province of sensuous experience. That remark does not apply to this vision, because the transfiguration of Jesus, which was beheld in it, belonged entirely to the future, and because His actual intercourse with the spirits of the departed, even if possible, would have introduced spectral elements into His life which are entirely foreign to it. However, the disciples who saw this vision certainly believed that it was of no mean import, and this is made clear in their subsequent conversation with Jesus (Mark ix. 11); to them it appeared to be the expected appearance of Elias, prophesied by Malachi (Mal. iii. 23), which, according to the prevailing idea, was to precede the coming of the Messiah (Mark viii. 28; John i. 21). The oldest narrative even related how, after beholding it, Peter wished to make tabernacles for Jesus and His two companions, because he believed in their actual appearance on earth, and supposed they would make a more or less protracted sojourn there (Matt. xvii. 4). Mark considered these words so unreflective that he thought that Peter must not have known what to say, and he tries to explain them as the result of fear (Mark ix. 6), although nothing terrible had happened, and Peter's words are not expressive of fear. Indeed, if we take Mark's account of Jesus' transfiguration, we find these words assuming that the disciples wished to corroborate that what they had seen was

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the actual appearance of the two men in human form.[1] Moreover, in the third portion of the narrative we have evidently nothing more than a partial repetition of the revelation to John the Baptist, thus clearly proving the visionary character of the event. Jehovah Himself appears in a bright cloud, as He did to the Old Testament theophanists, and the divine voice not only testifies to Jesus' Messiahship in the words of Holy Writ, but issues explicit commands to obey Him (Deut. xviii. 15; Matt. xvii. 5). At this time, when Jesus had spoken to His disciples of a future in which the strongest faith in His Messianic mission would be put to the test, and the preservation of their faith would be most severely tried, nothing less than a divine voice was capable of strengthening the faith and obedience of the disciples. It is now that the oldest narrative appears to have first mentioned the fear of the apostles, which fear is always awakened by a divine apparition (Luke ix. 34); and the first evangelist has followed this up, while bearing in mind similar experiences of Old Testament prophets (comp. Matt. xvii. 6 with Dan. x. 9). Finally, the close of the narrative fully proves the visionary character of the occurrence. Mark tells how the disciples looked round, and found themselves alone with Jesus in His usual form (Mark ix. 8). That, however, is not comprehensible if they had been beholding an actual event with open bodily eyes; and the first evangelist must have recognised this difficulty, for he obviates it by saying that they fell on their faces. But it is somewhat more comprehensible if we assume that the eyes which had been closed to the external world during the vision, now opened, but saw nothing of what had been so apparent to their spiritual sight.

It has been objected that the same spectacle was seen by

[1] That the two men actually appeared in glory (Luke ix. 32), or in glorified bodies, as the defenders of an objective event maintain, is rendered impossible by Peter's belief that it was necessary to build tabernacles for them; for Peter certainly did not require the instruction which is given to him by Keil, that "those who have attained to the spirituality of heaven do not require a roof to shelter them from sun and storm." When Peter is spoken of as wishing in his enthusiasm to transform the glorious apparition into an earthly reality, that rests upon what has long been acknowledged to be a misinterpretation of his words; for he does not exclaim, How beautiful it is to be here! but he says, It is good that we are at hand to prepare abodes for the companions of Jesus during the time of their sojourn on earth (Mark ix. 5).

all the three disciples; because any vision considered psychologically and physiologically must have something individual about it. We are not, however, here concerned with a vision produced entirely by natural causes, but with one sent directly by God. That in no way precludes the idea of Jesus having, by His conversations, produced in them that susceptibility to divine influence without which it is impossible to receive such manifestations. On the other hand, this very supposition demonstrates the existence of a special factor in each vision; and the correspondence of the three events with the triple number of the witnesses suggests the idea that there was originally a description of three visions beheld by the three apostles, which became common property, so to speak, after they had mutually related their experiences, and thus they were handed down by tradition as one event participated in by each. In support of this view, it may be stated that the separateness of the three parts, which in our tradition have no vital relation to each other, is opposed to the idea of a common vision, and appears to make a unity of impression impossible; in particular, Peter's words, which might very well have been spoken after his dream, are now inserted in a puzzling way between two of its portions. If these words are intended to point out that the entire concord of Jesus with Moses and Elias was shown to Peter, who would have found it peculiarly difficult to renounce the splendid pictures which the Old Testament prophets had drawn of the royal glory of the Messiah, then we may understand how it was that John was allowed to see on the mount the future glory of Jesus in a vision similar to that in which he was afterwards permitted to behold the future coming of the Lord. James was the first of the apostles to die the martyr's death (Acts xii. 2), and render the obedience of suffering which Jesus demanded from His disciples from this time forth with ever-increasing earnestness, and we know that he received testimony from God Himself that He who demanded this obedience was the Messiah.

Our narrative presents no stumbling-block for those who believe in divine revelation, and who accept it as a truth that God reveals Himself in dreams, because they do not wish to accuse prominent men in the Old and New Testaments of self-

deception or deceit. But if for a divinely-sent vision we substitute delirious ecstasies, in which excited men thought that they saw heavenly forms and heard voices from another world, we then impute to Jesus a great defect as an instructor; for in His most earnest conversations with His disciples He only convinced instead of swaying them. If we reduce all this to a mere natural event, such as a casual extraordinary light on Jesus' face and raiment and an interview with two unknown friends, we do not see what motive the apostle could have for employing his poetical religious imagination in investing an occurrence of so little importance with a supernatural light, and for introducing into it sublimely religious views of history.[1] But the simple literary extensions with which the later writers have sought to make the details of the event more worthy of acceptance than the scanty original account had made them, are not legendary embellishments; neither can that be said of the view which early found acceptance,—that some objective realities formed the foundation of the disciples' vision. It is sometimes assumed, from a pictorial touch in the latest narrative by Luke, or from Peter's unpremeditated words, that the disciples, being still overcome with sleep, were not capable of a correct comprehension of the event; but then it is certain that Jesus would have noticed such a misunderstanding, and would have destroyed the illusions of His disciples by a single word, were it but to avoid the just suspicion that He built up the faith of His followers by deceptions, and increased their reverence for His own person by an array of mysteries. It certainly seemed as if there were no other course but to regard the narrative as having, consciously or unconsciously, been derived from fiction; but even those who assume this can hardly speak of it as a myth, because there is no common idea whatever which could

[1] Even Weisse speaks of lofty intuitions, which the apostles, in an ecstasy, characterized as a vision; and Schenkel regards it as a kind of spiritual intoxication, without reflecting how little Jesus' revelations of His own and His disciples' lot of future suffering (though connected by tradition with this event) were fitted to produce such ecstasies. The older rationalism helped itself out of its difficulties by making use of every description of theatrical machinery—such as wild-fire, storm-clouds, and morning mists, to say nothing of the optical delusion of mock suns; and even Essenes in long white garments were regarded as actors.

have produced it. And however Keim may boast that he has surpassed Strauss in showing the character of this artistic product from its imitation of Old Testament stories (although that does not hinder him from speaking of it again as a well-considered, thoughtfully-constructed fable), he is in truth neither able to explain the combination of heterogeneous motives nor the harmonious result of single parts assorted in a mosaic style.[1] Every such explanation, however, is opposed by the fact that our narrative is connected with one special day, that the witnesses are named in it, and that, besides, an almost incomprehensible speech of Peter's is recorded, which seems even to have annoyed Mark so much as to make it certain that it was no invention, and finally, that it is in full historical concord with various subsequent events. At one time, indeed, hopes were raised that this story might be given up by regard being had to the silence of John—a short way of disposing of the whole affair.[2] But when we consider the eclectic character of the Gospel we hardly require an explana-

[1] According to him, the original of the story is the life of Moses, and yet, beyond the shining countenance of Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 29), from which Strauss' mythical hypothesis was taken, he brings nothing to bear on the subject but mere externals,—such as a mountain, three followers, six days (already used by Strauss), the usual form of Old Testament theophanists, and some over-elaborate parallels between the Mosaic story and individual features of the New Testament narrative. Like Strauss, he has failed to explain how the shining countenance of Moses is brought into combination with the fulfilment of the expected coming of Elias, which according to him forms the very heart of the narrative; indeed, in proportion as his theory assumes that the narrative purposes to indicate Jesus Himself as the new Moses, it becomes more incomprehensible why the old Moses should be brought into association with Elias, the expected forerunner of the Messiah. Keim certainly tries to give unity to the narrative by making its central object the verification of the coming of the Messiah; but he overlooks the fact that not only does the first portion, according to his interpretation, make Jesus at most on a footing of equality with Moses, while the second portion in no way expresses the subordinate relation of Moses and Elias to Christ, but the repetition of the vision of John the Baptist, in which alone that primary thought is expressed, is not indebted to the first two parts either for illustrations or ideas.

[2] Schleiermacher credited the apostle with hoping that the story might be sooner lost sight of if he simply did not mention it. But for the honour of the apostle's sound sense, we must deny that he ever cherished a hope which has been proved to be so vain; and we believe that his love of truth would make him do his best to bring about a proper understanding of the event, if he saw that the older transmission had placed it in a false light. Apologetics certainly has striven to explain that silence as a result of the apostle's fear of the mis-

tion of this silence, and yet it is to be found there clearer than anywhere else. The evangelist, to whom the whole earthly life of Christ had become a revelation of His divine majesty (John i. 14), had no need to tell of a vision, in which he caught a glimpse of a future, which for long had been as it were present to him. The perception of Christ's divine majesty was the essence of the religious life which he led, and to this he desired to elevate his readers; this certainly did not mean that the same perception would be granted at Christ's second coming, but John had long been assured that the latter was only of consequence to, nay, possible to, Him who had experienced the former. We prefer to say nothing of the testimony of the Second Epistle of Peter, for its attempt to accredit the deepest meaning of the divine revelation on the holy mount by the testimony of eye-witnesses (2 Pet. i. 16) has always been produced as the strongest argument against its genuineness.

While descending the mountain, Jesus commanded His disciples that they should tell no man what they had seen, till the Son of man were risen from the dead (Mark ix. 9). This prohibition confirms the historical accuracy of our interpretation. The real significance of this vision as a confirmatory pledge of the majesty of Him who was to come again, of the agreement of His death with Old Testament authorities, and of the duty of obedience to the Messiah under all circumstances, might surely be made clear to the recipients of the vision in a moment of intense religious excitement; others, however, would have no idea as to the meaning, before the course of events indicated Jesus as the Messiah who had risen from the dead and been exalted to divine glory. At the best, what the three disciples said they had seen on the mountain, would only excite in the rest a feeling of amazement. Peter must often have related how the three chosen apostles rigidly obeyed Jesus' command, and at the

interpretation of this story by Docetism; but this misapprehension first became a possibility after the acceptation of Olshausen's and Lange's theory, that it related to an incident which befell Christ Himself (comp. p. 100). It was reserved for the Tübingen school to try and prove that the great philosopher of the Logos in the second century was not silent on the subject of the transfiguration, but that, in his inspired literary use of old material, he combined it with the account of the agony in Gethsemane!

same time anxiously consulted each other as to the date at which they might consider the prohibition removed (Mark ix. 10). For although it is certain that Jesus spoke to His disciples of a resurrection from the dead, that they did not grasp the meaning of Jesus' words is proved as certainly in Mark's graphic account of the disciples questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean (comp. p. 77 f.).[1] Mark relates distinctly that on their return journey the three apostles introduced as a subject of conversation the expectation which the scribes cherished of the coming of Elias, for, according to Malachi (Mal. iv. 5), he was to be the prophet who should announce the advent of the Messiah (Mark ix. 11). If their experience on the mount was not historically true, it is incomprehensible why the disciples, who had believed in Jesus as their Messiah from the first, should now begin to ponder Elias' expected coming; long before that they must surely have explained it in some other way, especially as they had heard Jesus Himself give another interpretation to that expectation (Matt. xi. 14). Since that time the disciples had contented themselves with regard to the expected, though not literally fulfilled, coming of the Messiah, by the fact that Jesus called John the Baptist *His* Elias? But now that they have really seen him, whether in a dream or in a vision, in which he appeared to them in the body, might there not be another, if equally literal fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi? He certainly has come before the great and dreadful day of the Lord (Mal. iv. 5); but they can now see the untenable nature of the precepts of the scribes, which teach that he must precede the Messiah, so that consequently the Messiah cannot have appeared if Elias has not come (Mark ix. 11). They had long believed that the Messiah had appeared, and yet Elias had now come for the first time.[2]

[1] This prohibition of Jesus has been explained as an unfinished speech, which would have referred to some secret circumstance in His history, or as the reason why their experience appeared to the disciples in such a strangely false light, when they dared to speak of it at a later date. This explanation does not take into account that Jesus is thus made responsible for the perverted descriptions of the disciples by reason of His own silence as well as by His injunction to be silent. In truth, this prohibition, for whose invention absolutely no motive can be assigned, gives sure confirmation of the remarkable event which took place on the mountain.

[2] According to Keim, this utterance of the disciples proves conversely the

It is quite in keeping with Jesus' usual way, that He should concern Himself about their false though literal interpretation of Malachi's prophecy as little as about their mistaken view of Elias' appearance on the mount. He only makes use of the question under discussion in order to bring the conversation to the subject which He had most at heart during His present intercourse with the disciples. In the first place, it was necessary to oppose them and take the part of the scribes, who certainly understood the Scriptures infinitely better than these fishers and publicans. Doubtless, according to prophecy, Elias must first come; for the commission assigned to him by Malachi (Mal. iv. 6), to effect a moral reformation of the people, certainly purposed to prepare the way for the salvation which was to be the work of the Messiah. The difficulty presented by the prophecy of Elias' expected coming was not what the disciples fancied; it was contained in the prophecy itself, where, alongside that promise of reforms to be effected by Elias, was a declaration that the Messiah should suffer much and be despised by His people. But if the forerunner had converted the people to a right state of mind, how could the Messiah, for whom the way was thus prepared, be received with enmity and contempt? Jesus solves this difficulty by simply referring to His interpretation of Malachi's prophecy as bearing upon the Baptist. Here again Jesus clearly enunciates that the fulfilment of every divine promise depends on the conduct of the people (comp. p. 92). Elias has come, but instead of letting him effect in them what according to the Scriptures he should have done, they have behaved to him as they listed, and have got the inconvenient preacher of repentance out of the way. But even this was no chance occurrence. We do not know where Jesus found a prophecy

invalid nature of the description of their experience on the mount, in so far as it shows that the disciples had never seen Elias, however much they may have wished to do so, that they might weaken the objections of the scribes to their Messiah, who had not been heralded by Elias. Then Keim marvels at the simplicity of the tradition which has conjoined this genuine conversation with a fictional narrative whose untruth is exposed by the dialogue. But our originals know nothing of such objections; the interpellation of the disciples shows no fear whatever of the dogmatism of the scribes; on the contrary, according to the first evangelist's version, which Keim prefers (Matt. xvii. 10), it testifies to a defiant assurance that such dogmatism need no longer be discussed.

in the Scriptures relating to the Baptist's fate; but it seems likely that He found a typical prediction in the sufferings of Elias (Mark ix. 12 f.).[1] In that case the promise of a moral reformation of the people could not be fulfilled by him, and Jesus' own fate could be no better than the Baptist's had been. Thus Jesus brought home to the disciples another side of the historical necessity of the death which He should suffer, and He presaged His own fate from observing that of the Baptist, whose commission had been rendered of no effect by the guilty action of the people themselves.

A singular scene presented itself when Jesus reached the spot where He had told His disciples to wait while He ascended the mountain with His three confidants. Evidently His arrival there had been quickly made known, for He was at once sought for; but though the most of the disciples were there, the Master Himself was not to be found. A father had begged earnestly that his sorely afflicted son should be healed. It seems as if the youth was threatened with a severe attack of a periodical complaint. In great distress the father appealed to the disciples, perhaps because reports had spread of what they performed on their missionary journey. It was certainly possible that they might effect a cure on this occasion, but they were nevertheless greatly embarrassed by the request, for Jesus had as yet given them no actual commission, such as He afterwards conferred on them. Meanwhile more people had collected, and among them several hostile scribes. The disciples then thought that it was due to their Master's honour to attempt the cure in His name; but because real faith was lacking on both sides the attempt failed. This failure gave great satisfaction to the scribes. They could now pour scorn on the disciples, and demonstrate to them before all the people that their faith in the Master, in whose name they had attempted the cure, must be vain; and that He had most likely got purposely out of the way in order to avoid this new trial of His professed power of

[1] The answer of Jesus, which has been dissected both critically and exegetically, is certainly rendered by Mark with a conspicuous lack of elegance and perspicuity. The first evangelist, however, has understood it correctly, and notwithstanding free embellishments, has accurately rendered its leading thought (Matt. xvii. 11-13).

working miracles. The people do not know which side to take, and they are swerving between adherence to the disciples of the great miracle-worker and acceptation of the apparently incontrovertible arguments of their former authorities, when, just as the strife is most violent, Jesus comes down from the mountain with His three disciples. The multitude is greatly amazed, not indeed at the shining countenance of Jesus, which is now lost sight of in our narrative, and is only adduced in favour of the mythical hypothesis, but at His wonderful appearance at exactly the right moment. How could they let themselves be deceived by the scribes even for a single instant! Now the great worker of miracles Himself is here, and He appears just at the right time to controvert the depreciatory utterances of the scribes. The people run to meet the great helper, and salute Him with joyful surprise and all the enthusiasm of old days (Mark ix. 15).[1]

The oldest source gives us the real explanation of the son's disease, when it describes him as lunatic. He was subject to a kind of epilepsy which attacked him at new moon; and all the details which Mark gives in describing these fits accord with that theory. The boy throws himself to the ground and writhes about; he foams at the mouth, gnashes with his teeth, utters inarticulate cries, cannot speak, and his life is often endangered when these fits occur. The oldest account had already narrated that he ofttimes fell into the fire, and oft into the water (Matt. xvii. 15); and Mark tells that he was

1 Mark has depicted this scene so vividly that he must have heard it related by Peter; and as it assumes a temporary separation of Jesus from His disciples, we find there a guarantee that Peter related it as immediately connected with the occurrence on the mount. Besides, it is not to be denied that the whole of this wrangling spectacle impresses one as having taken place at the scene of Jesus' earlier Galilean ministry. It by no means follows from this that the narrative had originally nothing to do with the occurrence on the mount, but only that this mount is no longer to be sought in the tetrarchate of Philippi, and that Jesus had returned in those six days to the Sea of Galilee (comp. p. 98, note). Further, the oldest Gospel connects this narrative directly with the description of the transfiguration, and in the usual sketchy way of that Gospel the father is represented as coming to Jesus on His descent from the mount, and praying for the healing of his son, whom, he complains, the disciples were not able to cure (Matt. xvii. 14–16). Here too, as everywhere, the chief importance is not attached to the miracle and its details, but to some words which Jesus took this opportunity to speak.

so much exhausted after these attacks that he lay as one dead, perceptibly pined away, and appeared to be beyond human aid (Mark ix. 18, 22, 26). Antiquity knew of all these symptoms in the *morbus comitialis*, also called *puerilis*, because it appears in youths. But as surely as Mark gives these vivid details from Peter's description, even so surely is it merely his own interpretation when he ascribes them to the influence of an evil spirit which periodically took possession of the boy. This explanation was a very natural one, because convulsive fits actually overpowered those who were possessed, more particularly when the devils were being cast out (comp. Mark i. 26); but it is impossible that here such an interpretation should be correct. The boy had suffered from this disease from childhood, and it returned to him periodically, neither of which facts agree with the only proper view of the nature of so-called possession by devils (vol. ii. chap. vi.). Above all, the oldest source cannot have understood it thus; for in it the father does not complain, as in Mark, that the disciples could not cast out an evil spirit (Mark ix. 18), but that they could not cure his son (Matt. xvii. 16).[1]

Immediately after hearing the cause of the strife from the father, Jesus bestowed a severe rebuke on the multitude; and it was principally on account of this rebuke that the oldest narrative told the story (Matt. xvii. 17; comp. Luke ix. 41). "O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" Had they not yet learned that it mattered not by whose hand these miracles were wrought, whether by Himself or His disciples, for they were merely signs that God in His mercy had visited His people. Jesus had long known only too well how little dependence was to be placed on the faith of this multitude; but that they should have doubts on the subject of His miraculous power, merely because of the incapability of His disciples and the

[1] The same source had perhaps once before described the result of the successful expulsion of a devil by saying that the daughter of the woman of Canaan was made whole from that very hour, because the illness, which the possession had caused, ceased when the evil spirit was cast out (Matt. xv. 28); but the mere casting out of a devil could never be described as an act of healing. The first evangelist has appropriated Mark's interpretation of the illness as demonic in one phrase, but towards the close he returns to the oldest representation of it and speaks only of the boy being cured (Matt. xvii. 18; comp. Luke ix. 42).

hostile whisperings of the scribes, was sufficient to wring from His lips this gloomy plaint over the ineffectuality of all His work; and this lamentation also makes it appear very probable that Jesus was now on the scene of His earlier ministry (comp. p. 110, note). It was therefore doubly necessary that He should silence doubt by a miracle of healing; and yet He could only help where He found faith. Nothing, then, could be more natural than that He should begin a conversation with the father which would either rouse or strengthen His faith.[1] For that reason Jesus commands the boy to be brought to Him, and in very truth the frightful seizure, for which the father had foreseen the need of speedy help, had already set in. The boy breaks loose from those who are leading him, and writhes on the ground in horrible convulsions. Jesus is quietly listening to the description of the illness, but the distressed father, having shortly described its most dangerous symptoms, begs Jesus, if He can do anything, to have compassion and help. In answer Jesus points out that that is no faith which asks for help with such words as, "If Thou canst do anything," and that it is to the believer that all things are possible. Help is not proportioned to the measure of His might, but to the measure of faith which demands it. Then the father exclaims in his anguish: "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief." He is ready to fulfil the conditions which Jesus attaches to His help; but fearful that his faith will not suffice, he begs that Jesus will aid even if his faith still appears like unbelief. Jesus now sees the conditions fulfilled which are attached to divine help, and this not in spite of the father's uncertainty, but because of that very absence of self-sufficiency which throws not even the shadow of a doubt on His assisting power. At the same time He sees how the people are flocking together, eager to know if Jesus will prove Himself to be a helper in such a case of dire distress, and He feels that the hour has come in which God must show the faithless people that He is His chosen one. Grasping the youth's hand,—for, exhausted by the violence of

[1] Although Mark regards the illness as demonic, and lays stress on this view throughout his whole narrative, it by no means follows that the graphic details which he gives of the occurrence otherwise, did not originate in his recollection of Peter's descriptions.

the seizure, he had sunk on the ground as one dead,—Jesus raised him up, and the boy recovered (Mark ix. 20–27).

According to Mark, the disciples afterwards discussed with Jesus their failure, and asked Him privately, "Why could not we cast him out?" To which Jesus replied, "This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer" (Mark ix. 28 f.).[1] But, on the other hand, at its close the oldest narrative describes Jesus as uttering a verdict on the cause of failure, which, without any questioning on the part of the disciples, pointed out that it lay no less with them than with the people. And we distinctly recognise the whole situation when Jesus, pointing to the mountain from which He has just come down, says, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove" (Matt. xvii. 20). Jesus hardly gives the disciples any direct blame for the absence or weakness of their faith; but in the desert He Himself stigmatized capricious invocation of miraculous aid from the Deity as tempting God. It does not here depend on the degree of faith, which could be increased by an effort of will. Nothing, says Jesus axiomatically, can be impossible to any man in whom there is the slightest glimmer of unconditional trust in God's power and willingness to work by him; for such assurance is only produced by Him who will also justify it. The fact remains as Jesus is represented by Mark as saying, It must be prayed for.[2]

[1] The whole of this somewhat vague utterance, which in its best attested form says nothing of fasting, must have been spoken on an entirely different occasion, or have had an essentially different purport, for, as we saw, there was no casting out of devils in the present case. It is also very improbable that the disciples would ask the cause of their failure, for they must have known well what the reason was; but even the first evangelist takes up the idea and makes Jesus expressly indicate their want of faith as the cause.

[2] Mark freely uses the saying about the faith which can remove mountains to explain the miracle which Jesus wrought on the fig tree (Mark xi. 23; comp. Matt. xxi. 21); and it is probably a recollection of this passage which causes Luke, who has taken this, like the rest of the previously related story, from the oldest source, to give it a new application and change it to a statement that the believer may say to the sycamore tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it shall obey him (Luke xvii. 6). For the comparison of the grain of mustard-seed to the smallest beginning, comp. Mark iv. 31.

CHAPTER X.

THE DISPUTE AS TO PRECEDENCE.

JESUS did not return to Palestine from Philip's dominions by the direct route, but travelled through Decapolis (Mark vii. 31). It was here that the cure of the deaf man took place (vol. ii. p. 230), which shows that the adverse disposition Jesus met with on His first visit to that neighbourhood had long given place to confidence in His miraculous power (vii. 32–37); we see from it too that Jesus had no intention to take up His ministry of healing in the manner of earlier days (vii. 33, 36). From this point He seems to have passed round the south end of the lake, and so to have found His way back to the scene of His earlier activity; but He had no intention of recommencing His work even there, for He passed rapidly from place to place, and always tried to prevent His presence being made known (ix. 30). Now it is that the occurrence upon the mount, and the events connected with it, must have taken place;[1] for we find that in the Petrine tradition a conversation between Jesus and the Twelve, which plainly refers to this event, is placed after their return to Capernaum. While on the journey a dispute had arisen among the disciples as to which of them was the greatest in importance and natural endowments. On reaching

[1] Mark speaks of Jesus returning directly through Decapolis and the region of Cæsarea to Galilee after His journey through the land of the Gentiles; but this statement is closely connected with the division of that one great journey into two (comp. p. 47). On the other hand, Mark puts this return at the commencement of the second section of that portion in which he describes the training of the Twelve; and he lays particular stress upon the fact that while Jesus was travelling through Galilee *incognito*, this instruction principally turned upon the necessity for His suffering and death (ix. 31 f.; comp. chap. viii.). Because of this arrangement of Mark's, he was obliged to bring the day at Cæsarea Philippi into close connection with the occurrence upon the mount, although the latter took place on the scene of Jesus' earlier ministry. On this account the conclusions cannot be sustained which have been deduced from Mark ix. 30 as to the locality of the Mount of Transfiguration.

their destination they were obliged to keep an abashed silence when Jesus startled them by asking what they had disputed about by the way (Mark ix. 33 f.). It is not an unlikely supposition that the real cause of this dispute was the foremost place assigned by Jesus to His three confidants, in choosing them to accompany Him up the mountain; and the feeling which, in spite of the silence imposed on the three apostles, possessed the whole band of disciples that these had been witnesses of some unusual event. On the other hand, the three confidants were peculiarly conscious of the preference which Jesus had shown them, and they may perhaps have made their companions sensible of their feeling. It is therefore not improbable that the dispute arose from some of the disciples giving vent to ambitious thoughts, and others to envious feelings.[1]

There can be no doubt that Jesus began by demanding that this arrogance and ambition should be renounced, which had led to the disciples being surprised into quarrelling with one another. "Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xviii. 3). The unassumingness of a child who, conscious of his weakness and dependency, leans entirely upon others is essentially the same as that spiritual poverty, with its longing for salvation, which in the Sermon on the Mount Jesus had already made the condition of participation in the kingdom of God (Matt. v. 3, 6); and it is also a type of that simplicity to which alone the secret of the kingdom of God is revealed (xi.

[1] The evangelic tradition has retained a clear remembrance of this dispute and of the exhortations for which Jesus made it an occasion. It is with peculiar solemnity that Mark represents Jesus as sitting down and gathering the Twelve about Him, in order to communicate these injunctions (ix. 35), and yet, as is usual with Mark, he has only preserved isolated fragments of what was said. We unfortunately do not know in what connection, but the oldest source undoubtedly told of this disagreement, and connected with it a speech of considerable length, which Luke transferred to the story of the Last Supper, because there Jesus was exclusively accompanied by the Twelve (Luke xxii. 24–30); the elements of this speech can still be discovered in the Gospels, strangely scattered about. It is evident that, along with Mark's account, the first evangelist possessed another report of Jesus' speech on this occasion. What he says in chap. xviii. is plainly connected with Mark's account, but the different introduction can only be explained by the opening remark, about whose authenticity there can be no doubt, having formed the introduction (which even Luke had lost) to that speech of Jesus contained in the oldest source.

25). They had disputed with ambitious pride which of them was the greatest, not in the outside world, but, as the first evangelist correctly explains (xviii. 1), in that band of disciples in which the kingdom of God was then beginning to be realized. In doing so, however, they acted contrary to the fundamental idea which forms the condition of participation in the kingdom of God; and instead of attaining a high position there, they were in a fair way to exclude themselves from that kingdom and all its blessings.

On other occasions besides this Jesus pointed to children as types and patterns for His disciples. Mark tells of children being brought to Jesus that He might touch them,—evidently because the people supposed that permanent blessing would accrue to those on whom the great miracle-worker laid His hand. The disciples thought it was useless to trouble Jesus for the sake of little children, and therefore they repulsed those who brought them. But Jesus, moved to indignation at their conduct, said to them: Suffer the little children to come unto me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. And taking the little ones in His arms, He blessed them, laying His hands upon them (Mark x. 13–16). Jesus showed by this act that children may be sharers in the blessing He has to bestow, for all who would participate in the kingdom of God must become as they.[1]

In the account given by the oldest source of the speech to the disciples, which was occasioned by their disputation, Jesus was not contented with a general recommendation of childlike humility; He seems to have pointed out how this was to be made good in contradistinction to the arrogant

[1] In regard to this anecdote, which was united from purely topical reasons to what was said about marriage in chap. x. 2–12, Mark has certainly had in mind the beginning of Jesus' speech, for it is only an adaptation from Matt. xviii. 3, elucidated by what is said about the children in x. 15. This fact was recognised by the first evangelist, for in his repetition of Mark x. 13–16 he omits this remark, having already employed it in xviii. 3 (Matt. xix. 13–15). The same thing is true of the third evangelist; he inserts this saying in chap. xviii. 15–17, and omits it in the introduction to Jesus' speech (chap. xxii.). On the other hand, having this anecdote in mind, Mark represents the ambitious disciples as being humbled by Jesus letting Himself down to the very lowliest. Clasping a child in His arms before their eyes, He bade them in His name—*i.e.* at His command —receive such little ones, because in so doing they received not only Jesus Himself, but also Him who had sent Him (Mark ix. 36 f.). It is evident that this is

conduct of His followers. No illustration of this seemed more suitable than the very reverse of that boundless professional prejudice with which the scribes of His day looked down upon the common people (comp. John vii. 49). It certainly seems to us as if there could hardly be a more modest title than that of Rabbi or teacher; and yet it was through this very title that the scribe fancied he was raised to an unapproachable height above the laity. Jesus could therefore give no more lifelike warning of the pride which was charmed by such titles, and which sought for high positions among men, than when He forbade the disciples to be called Rabbi. He showed them their common dependence on the one whom they called Master, and, being His (spiritual) children, they were themselves connected by a fraternal tie; that fact of itself must restrain self-conceit, and must also lessen depreciation of others. But if this connection to Jesus made them fraternally related to one another, the position of sonship, which was theirs as subjects of the kingdom of God, would teach them to bow with the true humility of childhood before their Father in heaven, but before Him alone. The noblest name by which He is addressed by the subjects of the kingdom expresses loving reverence such as can neither be required of men nor shown by them. Of course this name is borne by a natural father in another sense, and that application is not under discussion here; but as the title of an instructor (comp. 2 Kings ii. 12, vi. 21), the name of Father bears a reverent signification which makes it unsuitable for the lips of God's children in addressing their fellowmen (Matt. xxiii. 8 f.).[1]

a combination of Mark's own, for the saying in chap. ix. 37 belongs in truth to the commission speech in which Jesus describes the disciples—of whose reception He is speaking—as little children (Matt. x. 40, 42; comp. vol. ii. p. 318 f.). This was acknowledged even by the first evangelist, and for that reason he apprehends the scene with the child to be a type of humility (Matt. xviii. 2); but it does not agree with the general reference to children in Matt. xviii. 3, and is manifestly composed in a very secondary way by the help of the recommendation of childlike love in xviii. 4 f.; Luke, again, represents Jesus as putting the helpless child on a level with Himself (ix. 47 f.).

[1] In contradistinction to these two characteristic instances, the prohibition of the Grecian title of teacher, which is placed alongside that of the Judaic, seems to be an explanatory addition, for it is directly contrasted with the title of Messiah (Matt. xxiii. 10). But the way in which the consciousness of the

We can quite understand how it was that Jesus passed from proofs of ambition in the circle nearest Him, to demonstrations of it in the great world without, from the Jew to the Gentile, from the presumption of learning to the pride of dominion. The passion for mastery is represented as a genuinely heathen characteristic, and we are told how the kings of the earth, arrogant though they be, crave to be addressed by titles of honour: The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them, and they that have authority over them are called benefactors (Luke xxii. 25). It was in contradistinction to this lust for dominion that Jesus proclaimed the new principle which separated Christendom from the old world, for the ancients had never bridged the gulf between master and slave. "But ye shall not be so!" (xxii. 26). The subjects of the kingdom are to seek for greatness, not in ruling, but in serving. Zeal in serving others is the sole thing in which one man shall endeavour to surpass another. This golden saying resounds again and again in the evangelic tradition. In the oldest source it must have been connected with the warning against an imperious passion for titles, for the first evangelist has preserved it in that connection in a form whose simplicity answers for its originality: But he that is (in truth) greatest among you shall be your servant (Matt. xxiii. 11). We see, too, that Mark found this axiom in what Jesus said to His disciples when they had been disputing by the way, for he condenses in it all that Jesus uttered on that occasion, and clearly explains the meaning of the aphorism: If any man would be first, he shall be last of all, and minister of all (Mark ix. 35); or as Luke expresses it: He that is least among you all, the same is great (Luke ix. 48).[1]

filial relation is passed to from that of the teacher to the scholar is a proof that these axioms were originally conjoined with what was said about childlike humility (Matt. xviii. 3). We can easily understand how it happened that these remarks, which belonged to Jesus' address to His disciples after their disagreement, were taken by the first evangelist and interwoven into a discourse against the scribes (Matt. xxiii. 8–10), which (though historically untenable) he represents as being also addressed to the Twelve (xxiii. 1; comp. particularly vol. ii. book vi. chap. xi.). And we can also understand how it came to pass that Luke omitted these exemplifications from the address to the disciples, for his Gentile-Christian readers had little knowledge of the love for titles entertained by professional Jews.

[1] We can see that in the oldest source this gnome was used as a contrast to

In the introduction to His speech Jesus did not stop with a general requirement of childlike humility, but He added an illustration from the forms of pride which occur in daily life; and in the same way, what He did mention was not only the universal requirements in which the subject of the kingdom is to find his true greatness. In a picture taken from a circumstance of daily existence which exhibited the distinction between ruling and serving, Jesus represented Himself as He who, now as always (Matt. xi. 29), realized what He demanded from His disciples. The world considers him the greater who reclines at table, because he is waited upon by others. But Jesus, though in truth the greatest of all, made it His life-work to serve others (Luke xxii. 27). In this same connection Mark represents Jesus as saying that the Son of man was not come to be ministered unto, but to minister (Mark x. 45),—showing that Jesus did not mean an actual waiting at table, but the fact that His whole life was devoted to the loving service of establishing salvation.[1] The

worldly pride of domination, as was also the case in the speech which Luke has borrowed from that source (xxii. 25 f.). This is proved by Mark's inserting it in a polemic against ambitious love of domination on the part of the disciples, which he connects indirectly with the antitheses against worldly thirst for power, which he describes as an actual oppression of others (Mark x. 42–44); he does this by a twofold aphorism, the second half of which accentuates and illustrates each point of the first: Whosoever would *become great* among you, shall be *your minister;* and whosoever would *be first* among you, shall be *servant of all* (x. 43 f.). The first evangelist employs both the wider view (xx. 25–27) and the simpler form (xxiii. 11), showing clearly that he too had met with it in the apostolic source; and the omission from Luke of Mark x. 42–44, is a proof that Luke recognised the identity of these sayings with those in the speech to the disciples (xxii. 25 f.). That they belonged to that speech originally is shown by the anticipation of the various points in Mark ix. 35; but it is only an apparent confirmation of this when Luke, after having introduced in chap. ix. 41 this quotation from Mark, inserts these sayings a second time where he had found them in the speech to the apostles given in the apostolic source, and with a reference to circumstances of a later date explains that the greater among them shall become as the younger, whose position in the church lays the humblest services upon him (Acts v. 6–10), and he that is chief in the congregation (Acts xv. 22) shall be as he that doth serve (Luke xxii. 26).

[1] The essential originality of this remark as given by Luke is guaranteed by the fact that this figure, which was suggested by table arrangements, induced Luke to transfer to the Last Supper the speech of Jesus which was given in the apostolic source as addressed to the disciples after their dispute. In doing this, perhaps Luke was also influenced by a recollection of the Johannine tradition, which told how Jesus rendered the service of slaves to His disciples when He washed their feet. If it were true that Mark only gives a general

meaning of that true humility from which alone such service can proceed, Jesus has given in a parable also connected with table arrangements: He who pushes himself forward at table, is thereby exposed to just discomfiture, for he may be afterward necessitated to give room to a more honourable man than he; but a modest man who keeps in the background may ultimately be honoured by his host bidding him go up higher. For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled by God, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted (Luke xiv. 8–11). It is not improbable that in that speech to His disciples, after Jesus had illustrated the service He performed by pointing to the servant who was waiting at table, He seized on another side of the figure in order to recommend the fundamental law of humility by the reward granted to its fulfilment. The remark which explains the parable we find given in the first Gospel in a connection which, we have frequently seen, belongs to the speech occasioned by the disciples' dispute (Matt. xxiii. 12).[1]

It is an undoubted fact that in this speech Jesus passed from warnings to promises. And it has often been regarded as a difficulty that He should have held out a reward for the performance of the duties He required from His followers; but if this be denied, Jesus' best attested utterances must be explained away. His aphorisms not infrequently rest upon this, that the promised reward is raised into equal prominence with the service to be rewarded, in order to exhibit thereby the justice of such a recompense (Matt. v. 7, vi. 14,

exposition of the thoughts which Jesus expressed in His own plastic way, there would then be no security for the manner in which he illustrates this by Jesus' renunciation of life. We do not know whether this statement was founded upon traditionary words of Jesus, but we saw at p. 73 that it corresponds with His ideas.

[1] It seems like a reminiscence of the fact that this saying belonged to Jesus' speech to His disciples when the first evangelist represents Him as speaking on that occasion of self-humiliation (Matt. xviii. 4). The same holds good of the parable which the remark explains, and which Luke deprives of its parabolic character (Luke xiv. 7), when he transfers it to a Pharisee's feast and makes it refer to their greed for the most honourable seats at table (Matt. xxiii. 6). On the other hand, the way in which Luke connects this saying with the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (xviii. 14) is assuredly not original, for it had been explained previously. But we can easily understand how it was that this twice-employed saying fell out of connection with the parable which it explained in Luke, chap. xxii.

x. 32); or else the retribution, as in this saying, is represented as a just change in a man's lot, in which he receives back what he has given up, or obtains what he has himself desired (comp. also Matt. x. 39). This direct inversion can be best seen in the account of the faithful servants whom their lord made to sit down that he might wait upon them (Luke xii. 37; comp. John xii. 26). Fears have been expressed that this introduces something like desire for reward into the fulfilment of duty, and that endeavour is thereby stained and lowered by a foreign *motive;* but those who apprehend this forget that, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus Himself laid great emphasis upon this point of view (Matt. vi. 1–18; comp. vol. ii. p. 156 f.), so that His promise of reward could not mislead. Indeed, it is impossible that it should, for the recompense He promises is in nowise strange to the service rendered; it is only the attainment of the end which is striven after in every action which is truly well-pleasing to God. There can, however, be no more powerful impulsion to untiring and self-denying endeavour than the certainty that the goal will be reached at last. The elevation promised to self-humiliation is not a dignity despised here, but an incomparably more glorious one to be attained in the perfected kingdom of God, which is the supremest goal for every endeavour, and therefore for every fulfilment of duty performed by a subject of the kingdom. In so far, then, each reward is not merely an equivalent, it is something incomparably greater (Matt. v. 12), indeed, quite disproportionate (Luke vi. 38).

It was in this sense that, in His speech to the disciples, Jesus spoke of the great reward which awaited them (Luke xxii. 28–30); and the fact that what is said about the exaltation which shall one day follow self-humiliation forms such an excellent means of transition, confirms us in thinking that we have here found the thread which can conduct to the second portion of the speech. His disciples had truly left everything that they might follow Him; they had remained faithful when the people deserted, and had continued with Him in times of trial (Luke xxii. 28). They had no need to grasp after empty honours; they should surely participate in the highest elevation when the time came for them to take part, along with the triumphant Messiah, in the consummated kingdom of God.

This thought was depicted by Jesus in majestic pictures; and at last He saw His disciples sitting upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (xxii. 30).[1] It has been supposed that this promise could only have received its form through an intermixture of political expectations; but it really says nothing of a re-establishment of the nation, when Jesus would raise the disciples to the position of princes. Just as little reason is there for making its figurativeness an excuse for resolving this statement into the promise of active participation in the world-wide domination of Christianity, or in the judgment that was to take place. Even the first evangelist makes the promise refer to a consummation of the kingdom of God, which will not take place on earth, but only when the new earth rises from the judgments of God, to which Jesus saw the old world irrevocably doomed, that was to nail Him to the cross (Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22). Here, as nowhere else, Jesus thought of this new world and the completion of the kingdom which is to accompany it as entirely detached in any historical way from this world of preparation in which the kingdom of God is begun. But He nowhere conceived of it as a community of perfected spirits, destitute of any recollection of the past and cut off from any connection with it. The subjects of that kingdom were always spoken of by Jesus as rising to new life in the very fullest sense, and therefore as being clothed with new corporeity (comp. vol. ii. p. 368 f.); and He also supposed that each one would receive a standing according to capacity, and according to the position

[1] The authenticity of this statement is guaranteed by the fact that the first evangelist, quoting from the same source, gives it in almost this identical form (Matt. xix. 20). He puts it in a connection in which Mark evidently preserved statements of Jesus regarding reward, which the apostolic source introduced into the speech to the disciples (Mark x. 29-31; comp. Matt. xix. 28-30). Mark, however, represents them as being provoked by a somewhat self-conscious utterance on the part of Peter, which the first evangelist gives as a direct demand for recompense (Mark x. 28; comp. Matt. xix. 27); and yet the way in which Jesus explains His promise of reward seems to be in many respects more original as given here than by Luke. But, on the other hand, it must be left undecided whether the picture is original which Luke gives of participation in Christ's kingly glory, for that idea the evangelist probably got from his master Paul (Luke xxii. 29; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 12); and the same must be said of Luke xxii. 30, which speaks of the honourable position to be occupied by the disciples, and which seems likely to have been suggested by the situation to which Luke transferred the speech.

occupied in the kingdom of God on earth (comp. Mark x. 40). Because the Twelve were most intimate with Him during His earthly ministry, they are to have the greatest share in the glory of the risen Messiah; and because theirs had been the task of proclaiming the tidings of salvation to the twelve tribes of Israel, they shall pronounce judgment upon all their countrymen according as they accept or refuse this salvation (comp. Matt. xii. 41 f.). This does not mean that they are to undertake what is only the duty of the Highest, but that His sentence will determine the fate which Israel prepared for itself by its attitude to the disciples' message.

On a previous occasion Jesus exhorted the disciples not to rejoice over the brilliant success which their earthly ministry would yield by reason of their peculiar endowments, but to do so at the certainty of their participation in the perfected kingdom of God (Luke x. 20). Now He withdraws their gaze from what their peculiar historical position might promise for their standing in the consummation of the kingdom which was in prospect, and directs it to that which they shall receive in common with all who strive for the furtherance of the kingdom, and who continue to confess Jesus.[1] For, since it is really one and the same service which is required from all the subjects of the kingdom, there is also one reward promised to all. Any one who leaves his all for Jesus' sake shall receive an abundant return, and when salvation is complete become the possessor of eternal life (Matt. xix. 29). The consummation of the kingdom of God will far surpass any earthly realization which the most genuine disciple may have purchased at great sacrifice, and incomparably greater in comparison with the service will be the promised reward; and the reward itself is only the final attainment of what was striven after. It is true that the disciples discovered early that fidelity is not recompensed in the other world alone, and Mark, in his reflective way, has described how he who

[1] The reason for Luke omitting (chap. xxii.) this important conclusion to the speech as given in the oldest source, is the fact that he had already employed it in Mark's connection (Mark x. 28–31; Luke xviii. 29 f.). As usual the first evangelist is far more original and complete than Mark, for he has borrowed this termination from his chief source (Matt. xix. 29, xx. 1–16), only he takes from Mark the special mention of what the disciples left, and the new form of the explanatory words of the closing parable (xix. 30).

leaves everything for Christ's sake and the gospel's shall receive a hundredfold even in this world (Mark x. 29 f.). Instead of the house he has left, all Christian homes stand open to him; instead of the kindred from whom he is compelled to separate, every Christian becomes a brother or sister; and every Christian matron who welcomes him and cares for him, is his mother (comp. Rom. xvi. 13). His children are those whom he begets by the preaching of the gospel (comp. 1 Cor. iv. 15); and even temporal possessions are not lacking, for Christian brotherly love regards all property as common (Acts ii. 44, iv. 32). These statements show no trace of millenarian dreams, though this has been supposed. But such experiences of Christian life as are beginning to be naturalized in this world, were still beyond the horizon of Jesus' vision, even although He experienced in Himself, as no other had done, the enormous power of evil in the world, and yet more directly the grace of His God which was able to re-create it. He spoke only of the best of what this grace prepares for all God's children in everlasting life. But that all are to receive the same, He showed at the close of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1–15).

In early morning a vinedresser goes out to engage labourers for his vineyard. The day's wage is agreed upon, and they proceed to work. A fourth of the working day is already passed when the master goes out again, and sends those men into his vineyard whom he finds still without work, promising to give them what is just and reasonable, since they cannot claim a full day's payment. He does this hour after hour, and only one hour before sunset he sends some labourers into his vineyard whom he has found standing idle because no one has employed them. No particular promise of recompense is now made. It is understood that they who began work when the day was almost done can only expect a paltry indemnification. The evening comes, the steward tells over the labourers, and at the command of the master begins with those who were last engaged. But see! they receive the full day's hire. Those who were first engaged now expect that they will receive more, and murmur because they do not; the master tries to pacify them by saying that they have received the stipulated sum, and ought not to be envious when,

out of his own property, he voluntarily gives the others just as much as he has paid them (xx. 15). It was the unfortunate passion for allegorizing which first created difficulties in this easily understood parable, and laid the foundation of dogmatic obscurities which only darken the clear thoughts which Jesus expressed there.[1] In this world it is a most exceptional case that the owner of a vineyard is rich enough to exercise any amazing liberality, but with the Lord of heaven that is the rule; His grace is even more abundant than His possessions. Jesus certainly indicated in this parable that the last will be first, and the first last, *i.e.* that all will be put upon an equality at the final distribution of recompense, and will receive the same reward—everlasting life in the perfected kingdom of God (Matt. xx. 16).[2]

And thus we get rid of the last difficulty which these promises of reward have given rise to. There is no necessity for transforming the heavenly recompense of which Jesus speaks into a reward which finds all benefit in itself; and to speak

[1] An allegorizing exposition has discovered that it is taught here that there are first-class Christians for whom God will do much, and second-class Christians whom He only treats righteously, or according to His superfluous goodness. It has also been discovered that the recompense given in the kingdom of God will be distributed uncurtailed, even though the recipients have given way to envious murmurs; and this quite apart from the much discussed question whether the allusion here is to the different periods of life or church services in which the call is made. But in truth nothing is more obvious than that the voluntary benevolence of the wealthy owner of the vineyard could only be exhibited if the claims of the labourers were unequal in consequence of the different time at which they began their work. Those last engaged were paid first, in order that the peculiarity in this division might be made manifest to every one, and the reproof of the murmurers only served to show that this invaded no right, and only revealed the master's goodness.

[2] Mark does not give this parable, and he explains the aphorism by the reversal of lot which will be brought about by that final compensation. Many who are first (on earth), because they have not quitted possessions and rank for Christ's sake, shall be last (at the day of requital), because shut out from the consummation of salvation; while the last, who have left all and have seemed very lowly in the eyes of the world, shall be first, that is to say, they shall be subjects of the consummated kingdom of God (Mark x. 31). The first evangelist has preserved this construction and setting of the aphorism (Matt. xix. 30), and by so doing he interrupts the evident connection of the speech from the oldest source, which he gives in this place. Luke interpreted it to mean the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of Israel (Luke xiii. 20), although the connection with the parable of the vineyard shows that this had little in common with Jesus' profound explanation.

of an earthly requital, the idea of which Jesus borrowed from His Pharisaic opponents, it is equally disproved by the context. But it is also evident that this parable removes the last pretence for saying that the promised reward was merited. It is hardly necessary to call in mind how plainly the parable teaches that the labourers did not seek for him who could give them employment, but the lord of the vineyard sought them. Is it not evident that the new circumstances under which the subjects of the kingdom are promised payment for their services are not sought by them? They owe it to the beneficence of the Lord on high, who sent forth His Messiah to gather the disciples together and train them to be subjects of His kingdom. The principal matter, however, is this, that a recompense which is not calculated according to the measure of performance, and is also distributed to those who have done the least, is not a reward which has been earned, but, as the parable distinctly shows, is the gift of voluntary benevolence. Recompense is certainly involved in an agreement to serve, for that is no law laid down by nature, or enforced by constraint, it is an offer freely accepted. And even the service of the kingdom of God cannot be entered upon without having regard to the possessions of which that holds out the prospect, for the hope of them will be a constant *motive* for the fulfilment of the duties required in this service. But there can be no idea of merit in fulfilling this duty, for, as the parable of the vineyard shows, the promised reward is utterly disproportionate.

These very reflections are given by Jesus in another parable which Luke has preserved for us (xvii. 7–10). It is here expressly stated that no servant on returning from following the plough or tending the flock, can expect to be bidden to sit down comfortably to meat. Only after performing his household duties and waiting upon his master, shall he receive the daily bread which is his due. He has no right to expect any special reward from the fact of having fulfilled his duty. We are servants like this: when we have done all that is commanded us we have only performed our duty. We can never expect to receive a special reward to which we have a right; we can never make God our debtor, for He has no need of our help. As regards Him we are never more than

"unprofitable servants." But, of course, it is certain that the servant will receive the recompense which even enforced servitude is entitled to, and how much more that which is voluntary! The labourer is worthy of his hire (Luke x. 7), and even one who is born a slave gets from his lord the food and clothing which are necessary for existence. Jesus did not deny—He rather made it abundantly clear to His disciples—that when the labour of the day is done, the servant of God will enjoy his well-earned rest, and receive the recompense of eternal life.

And so the speech finishes by going back to what it treated of at the beginning. If there is no such thing as a merited recompense, there can be no position of honour for which ambition and pride might strive. It entirely depends upon the endowments bestowed by God what the individual's standing shall be in God's kingdom, both here and hereafter (comp. Mark x. 40). As referring to us, we must regard this as a warning not to be lacking in the one thing which renders us pleasing to God and fit for His kingdom, and that is, childlike humility and unassumingness (Matt. xviii. 3). It is possible, indeed, that Jesus made a new application of the parable of the salt (Luke xiv. 34 f.), for it is under that figure that He describes what it is that makes the disciple of Jesus well-pleasing to God. And thus the speech occasioned by the disciples' wrangling may have concluded with the words with which Mark closes it: "Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another."

CHAPTER XI.

THE DISCOURSE ON OFFENCES.

ON one occasion the disciples encountered a Jewish exorcist, who was in the habit of making use of Jesus' name as a charm, but had otherwise no closer connection with our Lord and His apostles. The disciples regarded this as an offensive misuse of the name of Jesus, and they made it plain to the sorcerer that he must either cease to do so or join the followers of Christ, since faith alone could justify such exorcism. But this he did not do; and it was probably after their return from the great journey that they again met him, and were convinced that he was persisting in his wrong-doing. The disciples still more energetically endeavoured to convince him of his misdeeds; and it was not without complacency that John came and told Jesus what they had done, hoping evidently to be praised for this interference. But instead of that, Jesus reproved them, and showed how such an employment of His name prevented the exorcist, who was a disciple of the Pharisees (comp. Matt. xii. 27), from reviling Him, as the Pharisees generally did when they stigmatized as devil's work His casting out of demons (comp. Matt. xii. 24). This inward impossibility of taking a hostile attitude towards Jesus and His followers was necessarily the commencement of a decision for Him with which no man should meddle by impatiently interfering in its development. If there was only one alternative in regard to the position which must be taken up towards Jesus, this commencement, though purely a negative one, would necessarily lead the man to an attitude widely different from that held by our Lord's opponents. Whoever was not against Him was already, in every sense, for Him (Mark ix. 38–40).

The repulsion of the exorcist might also be considered blameworthy, because such intolerance would lead astray those

beginners in the faith who believed the name of Jesus to possess especial power. But the great discourse on offences, given in the oldest source, cannot have had immediate connection with this occasion, for in it Jesus does not speak of offence given by His disciples, but of an indignity which they received.[1]

If any one should be inclined to ponder over the motive for such remarks as these, he must remember how, since the day at Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus knew that the falling away of the people had even begun to shake the faith of one of the Twelve. The speech proceeded upon the assumption that offences were inevitable. In a world which was entirely sunk in sin and unbelief, influences must constantly be at work to shake the faith of some of the followers of Jesus, or seduce them into sin. But a fearful responsibility must be his through whom such offences come. It were better for him to die the miserable death of those who have a millstone hung to their necks and are drowned in depths of the sea, than to be condemned to everlasting destruction for having tempted one of Jesus' followers to give up his belief (Luke xvii. 1 f.).

[1] Mark has thoughtfully conjoined this anecdote with the transactions which caused the dispute for precedence (and following him, Luke ix. 49), inasmuch as intolerance proceeds from a lack of humility. For the knowledge of the imperfection of a man's own relation to Jesus must prevent him from estimating too highly the difference existing between him and his less perfect brother. Mark exemplifies the value of an inclination which only rests on an absence of hostile feeling, by pointing to the promise made by Jesus when He sent forth His apostles,—a promise which had reference to any service of love that might be rendered to the least of His disciples (Mark ix. 41; comp. Matt. x. 12). And in the same manner Mark threatens their intolerance with the doom which our Lord pronounced on all by whom offences came (Mark ix. 42). The expression here used, however, belongs without doubt to a greater discourse, given in the apostolic source, which Luke has only preserved fragmentarily. The first evangelist, on the other hand, has repeated it in immediate connection with the strife for precedence among the disciples. Only he has reversed the position of the first two aphorisms (comp. Matt. xviii. 6 with Luke xvii. 2), because this order was suggested to him by Mark ix. 42. Into the first he introduces a term used in apostolic teaching, for he speaks of "the world" in the sense of unbelieving and godless men (Matt. xviii. 7; comp. Luke xvii. 2). But as he omits the narrative of the exorcist, and connects these words with our Lord's setting the child in the midst, and His exhortation to childlike love (Matt. xviii. 2, 15), the first-mentioned aphorism would almost appear to relate to the leading astray of children who believed (Matt. xviii. 6).

As He had done in the "ordination charge," Jesus here calls His disciples little ones, to show that however insignificant their bodily presence might be, they were so highly esteemed of God for their faith's sake that He must pronounce woe upon all who should lead them astray. The way in which this is done shows clearly that Jesus did not consider bodily death to be the worst fate that would befall the unrighteous. There is for them also an existence after death, which is far worse than the extinction of life and the mere ceasing to be.

It is true, however, that the disciple of Jesus may find a cause of stumbling without being tempted by others. He may be led into sin through his heart being set on something, be it an endowment or a talent, an internal or an external possession. In that case, then, that which is dearest and most indispensable, must be sacrificed in order that the sin to which it is leading may not be punished with eternal condemnation. By saying this Jesus only made a new application of the truth which had caused Him to say that in certain circumstances a man must hate his nearest relations (Luke xiv. 26). The most indispensable thing a man possesses is his right hand, and the example given of what is dearest to him is the eye, and especially the right one (1 Sam. xi. 2; Zech. xi. 17). The cutting off of the one, and plucking out of the other, are merely symbolical of the decisiveness with which a man must separate himself from what would lead him astray; while the casting away signifies that he treats them as if they were of no value whatever (comp. Matt. v. 13). But even here what first appears to be loss turns out to be pure gain (comp. Matt. x. 39); for is it not better that a limb should perish, than that the whole body should be cast into hell? (Matt. v. 29). There is no allusion here to physical torment, for death for ever separates the soul of the wicked from the earthly body; but we are to understand that the judgment, which Jesus always supposed would be closely connected with the perfecting of salvation, will overtake the disciple who during his lifetime has denied his Master, so that he will go, body and soul, to hell (comp. Matt. x. 28). Does not this exhortation sound like a last appeal to the conscience of that unhappy apostle, who, because of his inability

to renounce his earthly hopes, was in danger of going where every hope expires?[1]

After this we can understand better how it was that Jesus now proceeded to show what must take place if it happened that one of His disciples fell into unbelief and sin through inward or outward temptation. The dealing of the heavenly Father Himself gives the best example of what should be done; and Jesus, as is His wont, goes on to exhibit this in a series of parables: When a shepherd with a hundred sheep loses a single one, he leaves the ninety and nine scattered on the hills, and sets out to seek the lost. Having found it, he rejoices more over it than over all the others which have not wandered; for the trouble of seeking had concentrated his attention on the one, and in his fear of losing it he has become intensely conscious of the worth of each individual; and even so it is not the will of the Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish (Matt. xviii. 12–14). Like the shepherd, He will give up all that every effort may be made to save the lost, and that His unwearied love may be rewarded by the joy of finding. The second parable describes still more graphically how fidelity in seeking is crowned by the joy of finding: A woman possessing ten drachmas has lost one of them; she strikes a light, she sweeps the whole house, and seeks with the greatest diligence until she

[1] Mark (ix. 43–48) connects what is said on receiving offence with the aphorism which bore upon giving it; and although the first evangelist (Matt. v. 29 f.) had previously used the latter in the Sermon on the Mount, he introduced it again in the more graphic style of Mark (Matt. xviii. 8 f.). The manner in which Mark speaks, shows indisputably that in the connection of the source it followed upon Luke xvii. 1, and that Luke only omitted it perhaps because he (as also Matt. x. 28) took exception to the idea of the body being condemned. Mark has not merely insisted upon the thought in a third remark; nor, by comparing the man who goes to hell with a sound body with the cripple who enters the kingdom of heaven, has he only represented more vividly the contrast between loss and gain; nor does he merely depict the torments of the lost more drastically than does Isaiah (lxvi. 24): but he adds another saying, which compares the action of the purifying fire, to which men submit with such agonizing devotion that they may please God, to the salt, by which each sacrifice must be rendered acceptable to Him (Mark ix. 49; comp. Lev. ii. 13). The first evangelist has doubtless preserved, in the Sermon on the Mount, the original and more simple form of the aphorism. But his mention of the eye, and the connection between it and looking at a neighbour's wife (Matt. v. 28), somewhat obscures the symbolical meaning, and suggests an intermixture of impossible literal interpretation.

has found that which was missing. She then calls her friends and neighbours together, and says: Rejoice with me, for I have found my drachma which was lost! Likewise there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth (Luke xv. 8–10). We can see from this how easily this may have been the connection to which the saying belonged, which says that the angels, to whose care God commends the disciples, stand nearest His throne, and wait on Him who bids them do all that can help to bring back the lowliest of those who have gone astray (Matt. xviii. 10).[1] It was on the faithfulness of God's love for sinners that Jesus relied, in respect to the one in His most intimate circle of disciples whom He saw wandering more and more on the downward path; and this is the solution of the mystery why our Lord did nothing to free Himself from a connection which was to prove so fatal; in God's hand it might yet be the means of winning that unhappy apostle.

If it were natural that the children of God should endeavour to imitate the love of their heavenly Father (Matt. v. 45), then the disciples of Jesus, who, as sharers in His kingdom, had become God's children, must take this faithfulness of God for their example, and do all in their power to bring their erring brother to repentance. The one most closely connected with him must privately lay his sins before him. For the more difficult it is for a man to confess his faults, the

[1] In this connection the first evangelist still continues to think of Christ's conduct towards the children, although Matt. xviii. 7–9 has no bearing upon that subject. He interprets the remark to mean that the guardian angels of children are taken from the highest ranks of angels round the throne (Tob. xii. 15; Luke i. 19), which is an evidence how highly God esteems the little ones. And hence the parable of the Lost Sheep relates to care for the children (Matt. xviii. 14). But since he gives this parable a significance which was not originally intended, it follows that he found it so given in his source. In the same way Luke xv. shows that the parable of the Lost Sheep formed a companion parable to that of the Lost Drachma. We have, however, already seen that it cannot have been originally connected with that of the Prodigal Son, for the latter has quite a different reference (vol. ii. p. 129, note). Luke has apparently been obliged to modify (Luke xv. 7) Matt. xviii. 14 after Mark ii. 17, in order to bring the two into connection (Luke v. 32). The first evangelist omitted the second parable because it has no direct reference to the children; and although Luke had the order of this discourse before him in the original connection, he (xvii. 1 f.) left out both, because he had already introduced them into chap. xv.

sooner will he be inclined to do so if no one is witness to his confession but he whose duty it is to pursue him lovingly. If he should succeed in convincing his brother of sin, and in bringing him to repentance, that brother will not be lost; his eternal salvation is secure (comp. Matt. xviii. 14). But if the endeavour should not succeed, the next thing to be done is to try the methods prescribed in the Old Testament (comp. Deut. xix. 15). If told by two or three that his conduct is sinful, he is prevented from pleading the excuse that the judgment of the one is biassed, though it is still open to him to question the sentence of his judges. After this, there remains one extreme measure, which the man may adopt who has undertaken to reclaim the erring brother—he can inform the Church. If the whole Church points out his fault, and disowns him by an unanimous decision, every means of evasion is cut off, and he, if he be still susceptible to the truth, must acknowledge his sin and repent (Matt. xviii. 15–17).[1]

If the erring brother will not hear the Church, it is understood that he will not acknowledge his sin, and therefore will not repent and make restitution. And now the duty of self-preservation from companionship hurtful to the soul takes the place of the duty of brotherly love. As the Israelites (comp. Matt. v. 46 f.) looked upon the heathen and publicans as outlawed from the society of God's chosen race, the true members of which feared contamination from intercourse with them, so the unrepentant brother must henceforth be considered as excluded from the society of his believing brethren, since

[1] It is neither an act of penance nor a judicial trial that is here meant, but entirely what brotherly love can do for winning the sinner. Jesus is thinking as little of the synagogue as of an organized local Christian church. What He speaks of is the Church of the Messiah, the gathering of which He has watched ever since that day in Cæsarea Philippi. The Church here signifies a small body, while at the time when our evangelic tradition took its rise it consisted of a number of congregations, which could rarely maintain their activity without a definite organization; and therefore there is no ground for the suspicion that Jesus' words have had introduced into them a reference to later circumstances. That Luke found these words in his source of information is certain from the condensation of their leading idea in his 17th chapter (ver. 3), although we do not know why he has omitted the detailed working out of the thought. Perhaps he already saw, as is now generally done, that it contained precepts for Church discipline which no longer suited the more fully developed conditions of his day.

intercourse with him might lead them into temptation. A continued connection would be most dangerous to him who was nearly related to the apostate, and on whom the duty of brotherly love was most incumbent. It is to him the command refers: "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican," Matt. xviii. 17. But as he is bidden do this only after the Church has made every effort to reclaim and convert the brother, it is in reality the Church which pronounces him unrepentant, and no longer worthy of belonging to the great congregation. Seeing, however, that he loses at the same time the blessings of Christian fellowship, amongst which there is none greater than the certainty of forgiveness of sins, it is signified here that this is dependent upon the judgment of the Church as to the repentance or non-repentance of the sinner. Jesus solemnly assures His hearers that this their judgment shall be ratified in heaven. What they bind on earth shall also be bound in heaven. And when they bind unrepented sins, no one may presume to absolve the sinner from his guilt; God in heaven, who alone can forgive sins, also looks upon them as bound, and will not pardon them. But what they loose, *i.e.* pronounce forgiven, on earth (comp. Isa. xl. 2) shall be forgiven in heaven also (Matt. xviii. 18).[1]

The real principle of this power bestowed on the Church is the certainty which she possesses of her prayers being heard, and which is realized when she prays for forgiveness for a repentant brother. Certainly Jesus had promised that every believing prayer should be heard; but He had reminded His hearers at the same time that the heavenly Father cannot always give what the child asks, for He only bestows good gifts (Matt. vii. 7–11; comp. vol. ii. p. 354). The individual, confounding his subjective wishes with what

[1] This last remark, as well as the whole speech, is addressed to the Twelve; but it is by no means intimated that this authority was especially bestowed on them by reason of their calling, as would appear, though in a slightly different sense, in John xx. 23. The connection would rather seem to show that only the Church, which pronounces judgment on the unrepentant condition of the sinner, receives also power to bind and to loose, though with a different bearing. The first evangelist (Matt. xvi. 19) was the first to refer this specially to Peter (comp. p. 49, note). But it cannot mean an ecclesiastical form of discipline by which the Church should expel all unworthy members, for Jesus has expressly forbidden this action in the parable of the Tares (Matt. xiii. 29).

is objectively needful and useful, may ask for what God in His wisdom and love dare not give him. Quite otherwise is it when the whole Church, be it large or small in number, prays with one accord. Jesus had considered its unanimous judgment of the individual as necessarily conclusive (Matt. xviii. 17), and had given the divine confirmation to its united decision as to the unpardonableness of unrepented sin (Matt. xviii. 18), and therefore He promises unconditionally that the heavenly Father will hear what the Church unitedly petitions (Matt. xviii. 19). He particularly describes the community to whom He gives this promise as those that come together in His name, *i.e.* those who meet to confess His name, and form that Church of the Messiah of which He spoke at Cæsarea Philippi. The fact that this Church shall have its petitions heard unconditionally is explicable from its being heir of the grandest of Israel's promises. Jehovah had promised to dwell in the midst of the people of Israel when the time of the Messiah should be come (Joel ii. 27; Ezek. xxxvii. 26 ff.), but not as when He typically rested above the cherubim, in the dimness of the sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 8; Lev. xxvi. 11). And now Jesus consecrates the meeting of the disciples at the mercy-seat, where the Messiah is always near them with His gracious presence, in order to procure the granting of their prayers by His Father in heaven (Matt. xviii. 19 f.). This promise, as well as the establishing of this Church, presupposes that His life's work lies behind Him, and that, exalted to God, He is, like God Himself, though invisible, always near them. It is not merely the continuous influence of His Spirit which is here meant, not only a continuation of His life of prayer: He Himself, personally present, continues to act in His Church, and because its unanimous prayer is only the result of this influence of His, He cannot but promise and assist the unconditional granting of its requests.[1]

An affectionate endeavour to convert an erring brother can

[1] It is clear from this, if evidence were needed, that the recommendation to pray in secret, in order to avoid ostentation, does not preclude (Matt. vi. 5 f.) united public prayer. The allusion to prayer in spirit and in truth (John iv. 23 f.) sets aside the obligation to keep to a certain locality, but not the religious practice of prayer, which a regulated worship requires. In other respects we find here the same difference which we notice everywhere existing between

only be successful if the worker has not been personally injured by him, or if he has forgiven the wrong with his whole heart. If there is any want of this forgiving love, there will always be a little personal irritation and bitterness mingled with the exhortations, however earnest and just they may be. This will mar the work of *seeking* love, and hinder its usefulness. It was therefore almost necessary that Jesus, in this connection, should speak of *forgiving* love. Our tradition connects what He said concerning it, with a question of Peter's, which presupposes, however, that forgiving love had already been the subject of conversation (Matt. xviii. 21). It does seem natural that the greatest willingness to forgive must have its limits, in order that it be not abused. And Peter apparently thinks he has chosen a high number when he asks whether a man should forgive the brother who has sinned against him seven times. The precepts of the Rabbis are satisfied with three times. But Jesus puts a stop to any such calculation by increasing the number suggested by Peter tenfold, thereby intimating that the duty of forgiveness is without limit (Matt. xviii. 22; comp. Luke vii. 4). He proceeds to prove this by a parable. In it He supposes the singular case of a king, who has a servant indebted to him to the unheard-of sum of 10,000 talents. The man prays for a postponement of the payment, and is allowed, by the mercy of his king, to go completely free. But one of his own fellow-servants owes him a small sum, the sixtieth part of a talent, and although this man begs for delay just as he himself had begged the king, he drags the debtor before the judgment-seat with revolting harshness, and has him cast into the debtors' prison. Hearing of this, the king is exceedingly angry, recalls his free pardon, and lets the sternest justice take her course with the merciless man (Matt. xviii. 23–34). This carefully worked out parable is calculated, line by line, to awaken the thought, that in the case in point want of mercy could not be punished otherwise; man's

the synoptical and Johannine versions of Christ's sayings. Jesus here promises His presence to the Church of the Messiah and to the disciples, approved through love to Him (John xiv. 23); and He bases the promised hearing of prayer on their united "confession of His name," and assures them of an answer to "prayer in His name" (John xiv. 13, xv. 16, xvi. 24; comp. Book vii. chap. iv.).

ordinary sense of justice clearly demands it. But now Jesus Himself points out its application: God must likewise withdraw His promised forgiveness of sins from the subjects of the kingdom, if they do not from the heart forgive every man his brother (Matt. xviii. 35).[1] Forgiving love has no bounds, for, as in the parable, the debt which we must forgive our neighbour, bears an utterly insignificant proportion to that which is forgiven us. And besides, he has only injured a man who often enough wrongs others, but we have sinned against a holy God.

The pardoning love of God always goes hand in hand with the love which bestows blessings, and love of the brethren will surely manifest itself in gifts and service, as well as in forgiveness. In the discourses belonging to this period, Jesus often speaks of how the disciples must show their fidelity when separated from Him (comp. p. 96); it is probably to this period that we must refer a conversation which doubtless signified originally that Jesus meant to prove their fidelity to His commandments, and attachment to Himself, by their merciful loving-kindness. This is to decide their fate, before the judgment-seat, at His future coming; for He foresees Himself seated on the throne, clothed with divine majesty, and surrounded by ministering hosts of angels, just as He described in the special prophecy to the Twelve (Matt. xix. 28). Before Him are to be gathered all His followers, and from them He will separate His tried disciples, as the shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats (comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 17). He touchingly describes how He will regard each manifestation of merciful love to the least of the brethren, His fellow-subjects, as done unto Him. He will take these tested ones to that heavenly kingdom in which His Father's plan of salvation decreed before the world began will be realized. And just as little as these were conscious of the endless value of their

[1] This aphorism, which, taken alone, as in Matt. vi. 14 and Mark ii. 25, may easily be misunderstood, first receives its correct exposition from the parable quoted above. For it cannot be intended that the disciple must earn the divine forgiveness by first himself forgiving. Indeed the parable can only apply to him, because God has first extended His forgiving love to him. He in whom this love awakens no kindred love, shows that he has become no true subject of the kingdom, no true child of God. He can therefore have no part in the blessings of God's kingdom, above all in the blessing of forgiven sin.

work of love, so little would He accept the excuses of those who asserted that they never had an opportunity of manifesting their attachment to Himself. They might all have served Him in His hungering and thirsting brethren, who were naked and homeless, sick and imprisoned (Matt. xxv. 31–46).[1] When speaking of the strife for precedence among the disciples, Jesus pointed to the humility which only tries to excel others in zeal for service, as the token of true discipleship; and here, in the many kindly acts of tender love, He sees the attestation of the same.

It is, of course, of great importance that all manifestations of love, which are worthy of the name, and especially those which prove true discipleship, should spring from pure unselfish devotion. In this sense Jesus had already reminded His followers, in the Sermon on the Mount, that love towards those who love us again is purely natural, and is therefore radically worthless, because it depends on reciprocity, and of this a man receives as much as he gives (Matt. v. 46 f.). It is like a loan punctually repaid (Luke vi. 34). In this sense Jesus had once said that no one should invite his friends, relatives, and neighbours to a feast, for they are able to recompense him. The act will only be rewarded hereafter if such are invited as cannot invite again—the poor and miserable (Luke xiv. 12–14). He evidently intended to say by this half metaphoric speech, that only *that* love is of true worth in God's sight which is

[1] The first evangelist has taken this discourse, which he therefore places at the conclusion of the denunciation of the Pharisees, as a description of the last judgment, and this leads him to speak of all nations as assembled before the judgment-seat of Christ (Matt. xxv. 32). There have been many discussions as to whether the nations are there considered to be christianized, or whether a separate standard of judgment is here set up for those who have had no opportunity to believe. But the continuation of the discourse makes it perfectly clear that only brethren of the Messiah—*i.e.* children of God like Himself, and such are His disciples—are supposed to be assembled around His throne. A mere description of the last judgment of the world is precluded by the fact that after such declarations Jesus' disciples must have known that He would regard all done to the members of His kingdom as done to Himself, if it were done to even the least of them, because they were His disciples. This lifelike and dramatic representation is therefore intended to describe the unutterably high estimation in which Jesus holds brotherly love. In a way that seems incomprehensible even to His disciples, it is shown how He can regard their services as "done unto Him."

practised without any selfish considerations, without any prospect of earthly recompense.[1] But the reverse side of this teaching is given when Jesus measures the worth of the tribute of love by the sacrifice which it costs, and the greatness of the gift by the value which it has for the giver. So He appears to have said on one occasion: When rich men cast much into the treasury, and a poor widow only gives two small copper coins, she has given more than they—"they have given of their abundance, but she, of her poverty, has given all that she hath." She did not even divide the last of her possessions between herself and God's treasury, but offered all her living (Mark xii. 41–44).[2] Her gift might be the smallest, but her sacrifice was the greatest; and only by the measure of the sacrifice which it cost, could the value be truly estimated.

We find that in John's Gospel also Jesus condenses all He has said to His disciples, even the inmost circle, into the command of love one toward another, *i.e.* brotherly love. This is as far from excluding manifestations of love outside this circle as the description of the judgment given in Matthew, but it demands that they shall first be exhibited in the closest relationships (John xv. 9–12).[3] As the seeking and forgiving

[1] Luke supposed that these words must have been spoken at table to the host (Luke xiv. 1, 2). But if that were so, they would be contracted in meaning to a recommendation of the practice of hospitality. Jesus cannot for a moment have intended it in this narrow sense, for He certainly did not mean that a man's nearest relatives were to be excluded from his table.

[2] Mark, whom Luke (xxi. 1–4) follows, has accepted this as a real experience in the life of Jesus. He supposes that while Jesus was lingering in the court of the women, He beheld first the rich and then the widow casting their alms into the treasury which stood there (comp. John viii. 20). But Jesus could with difficulty have seen how much each cast in, and certainly would not know what proportion of her income the widow's mite formed. And the place in which Mark relates this incident is evidently chosen only because the latter affords a contrast to the low self-seeking of the scribes, who "devour widows' houses" under a pretext of piety (Mark xii. 40).

[3] It may seem surprising, that from telling His chosen ones what he expects of them in fulfilment of their calling, Jesus should revert to this command to love (John xv. 16 f.). But each fulfilment of their duty was only valuable when it, as His did, sprang from love, which seeks the highest good of its neighbour, and spares no sacrifice to accomplish its end. As He had been sent to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv. 24; Luke xix. 20), so they were to go forth, and, by preaching the gospel, gather men into the kingdom of God and save their souls.

love of the children of God was to be in imitation of their heavenly Father, they had an example for all their deeds of charity in the perfecting of divine love, which was manifested to the people in the sending of the Messiah. And therefore, as Jesus Himself in all His actions showed forth the reality of the ideal which He had given to His disciples (Matt. xi. 29 ; Mark x. 45), nothing was more in His thoughts at this time than His sacrificial death, which was to complete His life-work by giving up life itself. No man has greater love than he who gives his life for those he cares for (John xv. 13). This made His command to love one another something quite new. No doubt the Old Testament law had commanded a man to love his neighbour as himself (Lev. xix. 18). And Jesus had said that on this point hung all the law and the prophets (Matt. xxii. 29 f.). His exposition of the law in the Sermon on the Mount had reached its culminating point when He freed this law from all the restrictions by which it was still limited according to the conditions of the preparative revelation of the Old Covenant, and pointed out how the love of our enemies is the facsimile of the genuinely divine perfection (Matt. v. 44–48). But this commandment first became actually a new one when Jesus demanded an exercise of love after His own example. The measure of this is not according to the standard of a man's own need (Matt. vii. 12). Love has only done enough when it has devoted itself and all that it possesses for the good of its neighbour. The fulfilment of this new commandment was to be the special mark of Jesus' followers, and the test of their discipleship (John xiii. 34 f.).

Through these instructions to the disciples that change in their relationship to Him was gradually accomplished which Jesus had intended when He established that intercourse with them which so resembled family life (comp. vol. ii. p. 266). He did not treat them like servants, but as trusted friends. He had shown them the motives and purposes of His actions, and how He was guided by the Father's decrees, which were always revealed to Him (John xv. 15). If God decreed that He must crown His work by the sacrifice of His life, and demanded of them a like sacrifice in the future, they knew that His children's final purpose must be to fit themselves for such fulfilment of duty (John xiii. 34). Inasmuch as

by His offering of love He had destined them to the like sacrifice, He had in them attained the highest aim of His life, and they had become in the fullest sense objects of His affection (John xv. 14). They could only continue in this His love, which had already become all in all to them, if they persevered in fulfilling His commandments even to the least detail (John xv. 9 f.), and they could only prove their love to Him by keeping His words (John xiv. 21). For He would regard all that was done with love like this as done unto Himself (Matt. xxv. 40). The Johannine mysticism regards all fulfilment of duty or vocation as only the necessary issue of the personal and loving relation between Christ and His children. This doctrine has sprung from what formed the real soul of these exhortations to the innermost circle of the disciples, although the words of Jesus bearing upon this were less frequently repeated in common tradition, and have only been given us by the beloved disciple, who had felt them most deeply, and had lovingly remembered them. But even when the words transmitted by him express much of the deep meaning which that disciple found in the utterances of Jesus, they ever lead us back to the historical intelligence of what Jesus endeavoured to effect in His disciples, and succeeded in doing. This is distinctly shown by the Johannine account of the parable of the vine and its branches (John xv. 1–6).[1]

The connection with the figure of the vine given in the Old Testament (Isa. v.; Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xv. 2, etc., xix. 10 ff.) leaves no doubt as to what is meant. Jesus did not compare Himself to the vine, but was speaking, as He does everywhere in the Synoptics, of the kingdom of God which He was planting in Israel, in order to bring to completion the theocracy which the prophets had so often indicated as the vine planted by Jehovah. The husbandman takes all the care he can of it when once it is planted; he prunes away the shoots to

[1] This parable evidently belongs to the period when the great division among His followers had taken place, and Jesus saw more and more clearly how one of the Twelve was gradually hastening towards the inevitable exclusion. The parable has almost entirely lost its original form through the allegorizing treatment of it by the fourth evangelist, but it may still be recognised by unmistakeable features, in spite of the veil which the Johannine treatment has thrown over it.

bring the branches to fruition. But when all is in vain, he himself cuts down the fruitless vine, and casts it out of the vineyard. There it must wither, and can only be used as fuel. And thus the sole object of the planting and tending of God's kingdom in Israel is the awakening in the subjects of that kingdom of a new religio-ethical activity. He with whom this intention fails must be at last excluded from the kingdom, and shall finally perish. These Galilean disciples, therefore, who did not bring forth the required fruit, were already cut off by the divinely guided development of events. In the discourse on offences, Jesus had spoken of that unrepentant brother who is at last to be as a Gentile and a publican to his fellow-brethren; but still more terribly was this word to be fulfilled in the unhappy disciple whose fate so occupied Jesus' thoughts and true pastoral care at this time. Jesus appears to have concluded this parable with an indirect explanation. He commands His disciples to pray that strength may be given them to bear good fruit, and promises an unconditional hearing to such petitions, because thereby God is glorified and true disciples are won for Him (John xv. 7 f.). A prayer for the realization of the highest purpose of God *must* find acceptance.

John's great theme is always personal relation to Christ, and he finds in the relation of the branch to the vine a thoroughly plastic example of his own mystical mode of thought. Here his endeavour was chiefly to show how, as in the case of the purged branch, all power to bring forth fruit is derived from the vine, and so everything depends on resting in Christ,—*i.e.* on the continual mystic losing of self in Him,—because then alone can He operate upon His children, and bestow on them the power of fruit-bearing, which is the greatest blessing produced by intercourse with Himself. To John this parable was really a warning to abide in Christ, and a promise of the help which a man by so doing will find for his inner life. This explanation is, of course, not historically the correct one, and yet it gives us a vivid glimpse into a part of Jesus' history.[1] It allows us to observe the religious experiences of

[1] The change which this parable has undergone in the Fourth Gospel is more apparent here than anywhere else. It is first of all formal, because it begins at once with the allegorical explanation; and the intended practical application of

the disciples while intimately associated with Jesus, even though only the deepest nature among them was able to give it proper expression, and that only in the later development of his inner life. The beloved disciple never doubted that all the strength of his life, for loving, serving, and suffering, had its spring in these hours of heart-communion with Jesus, and in lasting and exclusive self-surrender to Him.

the parable is, in its warnings and promises, so much mixed up with the features of the natural figure, that it is no longer possible to carry out the figure connectedly. But again, the change in the parable is a material one. In truth, even the Synoptists represent the kingdom of God as first existent in Christ; and that necessitates a continual abiding in the state of a disciple, in order to have the blessings of a lasting communion with Him. But for this reason the point of the parable cannot have been to exhort them to this abiding. Its continuation shows indubitably that abiding in the kingdom of God is not the reason but the result of bringing forth fruit. Exclusion from the kingdom is the punishment for continued unfruitfulness.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DEPARTURE FROM GALILEE.

WHEN Jesus returned to His native district, the pleasant time of uninterrupted intercourse with His disciples might be said to be at an end. He might preserve His incognito when within the tetrarchate of Philip and in Decapolis; but so soon as He reached the lake's north-western shore and entered Capernaum, that was impossible. Nor did He really desire it. He had not returned in order to re-enter upon His earlier ministry of teaching and healing, but He would not quit the scenes of the hardest part of His life's work without once more addressing to this people to whom He was so warmly attached an earnest call to repentance and words of solemn warning; for such words, though now perhaps not taken to heart, might be the seed-corn for the harvest of a fairer future.

There was no lack of occasions for doing this. It was probably soon after His return home that Jesus received tidings of an awful event which had occurred at Jerusalem during the last feast. One of those conflicts had taken place which are never awanting when religious or patriotic fanaticism comes into collision with the crushing rule of an iron despotism. By the orders of the governor Pilate, a crowd of Galileans had been cut down while busy with their sacrifices in the temple court, and a stream of human blood was mingled with that of the victims (Luke xiii. 1). Secular history gives us no further information regarding this event, so that we are reduced to surmise what the exciting cause could have been. It does not seem improbable that a Galilean crowd, with its natural inclination to revolt, and whose Messianic hopes had been heated to the boiling point by the events immediately preceding the Passover, should have projected some kind of conspiracy at the feast, through the breaking forth of which they still hoped to force

Jesus to take up the *rôle* of a political Messiah. The matter, however, was betrayed, and the governor made short work of the ringleaders.[1] When He was informed of the occurrence, Jesus made use of the occasion to ask His auditors whether they imagined that those Galileans who had perished so miserably were greater sinners than the rest of their countrymen. But He certainly did not do this in order to enter His protest against a onesided view of the doctrine of retribution, for indeed the incident had no bearing upon it; His object was to explain to the people that if they persisted in their impenitence they should all likewise perish. No doubt this also referred to the everlasting punishment to which they would then be irretrievably doomed; but besides that, it had reference to the downfall of the nation; for if it finally rejected the true Messiah, and refused to listen to His exhortations to repentance, it must ultimately perish through a pseudo-Messianic revolution. If we have rightly conjectured the cause of that dreadful deed, it seems probable that Jesus regarded it as a prelude to the frightful catastrophe which was to come upon that unhappy people. Because it bore upon the fate of the whole nation, and not only upon that of the Galileans, Jesus reminded them of an analogous incident when a tower that was being built near the pool of Siloam fell down and buried eighteen men in its ruins. This gave Him another opportunity of asking whether those who were killed there were greater sinners than their fellow-citizens, and then of repeating His dread threatenings (Luke xiii. 2–5).

In connection with this warning Jesus related yet another parable: For three years the owner of a vineyard looked in vain for fruit on one of his fig trees, and at last gave the vinedresser orders to cut it down. The gardener, however, interceded for the tree, and promised to try once more all that

[1] Since Galileans are mentioned, it has been supposed that the account was composed either in Perea or Galilee, although express mention is afterwards made of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Among the crowds of pilgrims who visited Jerusalem from every quarter of the country, those victims belonged to a distinct body, for it was certainly not accidental that the victims of that deed were Galileans. Jesus had a definite end in view when He contrasted them with the whole body of the Galilean populace, and the unfortunate citizens with the collective inhabitants of Jerusalem.

his skill could do to make it produce fruit. If that had no effect, then the tree might be hewn down (Luke xiii. 6–9).[1] The parable teaches how urgent was the repentance which Jesus called for. The long-suffering of God, which had hitherto hoped that Israel would fulfil its vocation, must come at last to an end. He might still grant the people a respite to repent in, but even that must be limited. The whole situation is an evident indication of the fact that Jesus' reappearance in His home was just such a last attempt to rouse the people of Galilee to repentance. If He too failed, they were doomed to the same fate as the barren fig tree. Jesus had probably had in view long before this a final appeal to the people from God, which should exhibit the great sign of Jonah in Jesus' wondrous deliverance from death; thus apparently giving them a longer interval for repentance. But this sign could only affect what it was intended to do if it found receptive hearts; and it was now full time that they should be prepared for this by these last exhortations.

It is to this period that we must relegate a tiny popular address which Luke has preserved from the apostolic source (Luke xii. 54–59). Jesus began by saying that they understood the changes of weather foreshadowed by the appearance of the heavens and earth so well, that they could predict with great certainty the coming of heat and rain. He calls them hypocrites because they pretend to be unable to recognise the true meaning of the present epoch, although it points to the approaching catastrophe with equally undeniable tokens as the signs of heaven do to a change of weather. Judging from the continuation of the discourse, we cannot suppose that Jesus was thinking here of the commencement of a new arrangement in the theocracy, or even of the consummation of the kingdom of God. It was certain now that as a whole the people of Galilee would not pursue the path which led to this consummation, and it is characteristic of the speeches belonging to this period, that in them Jesus no longer directed

[1] It is nothing more than an allegorizing fancy to suppose that the three years signify Jesus' three years of public life, or, assuming that the parable was spoken in Jerusalem, three journeys to the feast. They refer to the time within which it must be decided whether the fig tree is to be fruitful or not.

attention to the promised and hoped-for consummation; they refer to the steadily approaching judgment which, after His earthly downfall, would set in along with that second coming of which He had just spoken in the parable of the fig tree. The signs of the times all pointed to the nearness of that judgment. Since the days of the Baptist, with his warning of the coming tribunal, the nation had been pervaded by a feeling that the time of decision was nigh. And ever since Jesus began to proclaim the kingdom of God, they had been looking for the fulfilment of all their Messianic hopes, and according to prophecy these hopes were to be realized at the same time that those who were unworthy of the consummation of salvation were condemned. Probably at one time Jesus had thought of delaying this judgment till His work was finished; but through the guilt of the people the end was approaching steadily, and then it would be decided who had attained deliverance through faith in Him, and who must perish with the impenitent.

Very sorrowfully does Jesus ask why they do not themselves judge what is right, that is to say, what God required of them at the present moment (Luke xii. 57). He still hopes that their own sound sense of right may teach them the truth. But this could only be the case if they got rid of the influence of their Pharisaic leaders, whose alienation from His religio-ethical ideal made it impossible for them to be reached by any demand for a profound internal regeneration, and whose gross conception of the goal which prophecy had placed before the nation made them unreceptive of the method which Jesus pointed to as leading to the final consummation. We shall see, afterwards, that to the very end it was Jesus' constant endeavour to separate the people from their leaders, for He saw that in that lay the only hope of saving the nation. On the present occasion, however, He tells them a parable: When a debtor is on the way to the judge with his creditor, it is surely high time to come to terms if he really desires to escape the full severity of the law (Luke xii. 58 f.). In like manner He explains the signs of the times. The people must make use of the respite given them for repentance, and must enter upon the path of salvation pointed out by the Messiah, if they would make their peace

with God. If this is not done, if the respite passes by unemployed, then that judgment will begin, in which they will be treated with strictest justice; and the sentence must surely be one of condemnation.[1]

It is very significant that just at this time, when it seemed as if Jesus would be compelled to give up the inhabitants of Galilee, He delivered two parables in which He upheld the comprehensive character of the kingdom of God, which He had established, against all the adverse considerations suggested by the existing state of matters, with as much energy as that with which He had maintained His claim to the Messianic office in opposition to the doubts excited by His refusal to fulfil the popular expectations.[2] Jesus seemed to renounce the original end of that ministry of His, which was to embrace the whole nation, in the degree in which He withdrew from public work and devoted Himself to His most intimate band of disciples, with the express purpose of preparing for the formation of a Church of the Messiah among the people after His decease. But it was just then that He felt Himself impelled to enunciate once more the divine purpose of the kingdom of God, which He had founded. That did not cease

[1] Doubts have been expressed as to whether the statement about the signs of the times, as given by the first evangelist (Matt. xvi. 2 f.), is the same as that which we find in this discourse (Luke xii. 54-56), since the weather prognostications are somewhat different. And yet it is perfectly natural that, according to the circle in which this remark was repeated, it would be altered so as to correspond with usual experience. It is evident, however, that this statement had nothing to do with the speech against those who demand a sign, with which the first evangelist connects it. He has also taken the strictly parabolic character from the parable of the creditor and debtor, by placing it in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 25 f.), and making it refer to the duty of immediate restitution; so that up to the present time expounders differ as to whether this passage should be interpreted parabolically or not.

[2] It is evident from the connection into which Luke introduces these parables (Luke xiii. 18-21), that he had found them given in the apostolic source as a parable-pair which formed the introduction to the severest warning in the whole series of farewell discourses. We can see, too, that it was only Mark's employment of the parable of the Mustard-Seed in his trilogy (Mark iv. 30-32), which led the first evangelist to insert the two in Jesus' first great parabolic speech (xiii. 31-33). The truth is, that the tendency of both these parables is quite different from the parables belonging to that discourse. The latter were concerned with describing the nature of the kingdom of God in contradistinction to the current popular expectations; the purpose of the former was to confirm the popular expectation which w founded upon prophecy against everything that seemed opposed to it.

even if the conduct of the people caused its realization to be carried out by other methods than those originally intended. It is to this the question probably refers with which the oldest source represents Jesus as introducing these parables (Luke xiii. 18, 20): Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it? Was He to proclaim another conception of it than that given by prophecy and assumed as necessary by popular opinion? The kingdom of God was indeed nothing else than the completion of the theocracy founded in Israel, it must embrace the whole people and penetrate its national life. Would that be changed if He were to establish the kingdom in His tiny band of followers, or in the separate congregation of believers in the Messiah? No: A gardener took a grain of mustard-seed and planted it in his garden; it grew and became a tree, in the branches of which the birds of heaven nestled. A woman took a morsel of leaven and mixed it with three measures of meal till the dough was thoroughly leavened (Luke xiii. 19–21). The small beginning of the kingdom of God in no way prejudices its comprehensive destiny; it is still destined to embrace the whole nation, and to penetrate and renew its entire existence.[1] These parables have frequently been regarded as a proof that Jesus had a development of the kingdom in view, which was to extend and intensify for hundreds of years; but this surmise has not taken into account that the parables do not give the slightest indication about the period when that which they portray is to be realized. With equal frequency a reference has been seen in them to the world-wide destiny of Christianity, and it is forgotten that interpreting the birds who dwell in the branches of the mustard tree to mean the Gentile nations who enter the kingdom of God is as much an instance of arbitrary allegorizing as when the three measures of meal which the

[1] Incidents of repeated occurrence are here given in the form of a unique history; it was Mark who first altered this form by describing how the smallness of the grain formed such an express contrast to the greatness of the grown herb. For this reason he mentions the mustard bush, one of the largest of garden herbs, although the oldest representation spoke of the mustard tree (*Salvadora persica*) (Mark iv. 31 f.). The somewhat ambiguous representation of the first evangelist (Matt. xiii. 31 f.) shows a combination of both forms.

woman took to bake her bread is expounded allegorically. It was to His people that Jesus was speaking; and when He did not expressly say otherwise, no one could suppose that He meant anything else but what would bring the kingdom of God to the nation.

To the description of the kingdom of God given in these two parables Jesus adds an earnest exhortation to enter in by the narrow gate (Luke xiii. 24; comp. Matt. vii. 13 f.). The end for which God had instituted His kingdom must be realized in some way, but that consummation will not be perfected through natural development. The participation in it of the individual depends entirely upon his own conduct. Considering the connection in which these exhortations to repentance occur, we cannot have the slightest doubt as to what was intended by the narrow door through which the kingdom had to be entered; it was the complete conversion and repentance which Jesus demanded. Jesus had described the gate as narrow, and the way as straitened which led to deliverance from destruction, because it is not easy to give up sinful ways that have become dear to one, and to break with the whole tendency of one's nature. He explains from this why it is that so few enter therein, and that the beginnings of the kingdom of God are still so small. But to the great multitude who would not have the way pointed out to them, and much less walk in it, Jesus showed that when the kingdom of God came in its glory they should seek to enter in, and should not be able. In vain would they appeal to the fact of their having eaten and drunk with the Messiah; of His having taught in their streets, *i.e.* that they belonged to the chosen people to whom God had promised His Messiah, and had sent Him. In spite of all that, they would find the door shut; for he who does not strive anxiously, during the foundation period of the kingdom of God, to be a disciple of Jesus and a future subject of the kingdom, can never have a share in the perfected kingdom; him Jesus will not recognise as a disciple, but, because of his impenitence, will repulse as an evil-doer (Luke xiii. 26 f.).[1] Making use of a favourite

[1] On account of the reminiscence of the situation inserted in ver. 33 (Luke xiii. 22), and which seems to be induced by a question given at the commencement of Jesus' discourse (xiii. 22), Luke has interrupted the direct connection

figure, Jesus compared the glory of the perfected kingdom of God with the gaiety of a feast. He touchingly described how their cries and lamentations, and the gnashing of teeth in helpless despair, would come too late when they saw the patriarchs sitting at the feast, but they themselves shut out, although as being their descendants they had thought themselves secure of sharing in the consummation of salvation (Luke xiii. 28).

If this threat were fulfilled, then it would certainly seem as if the kingdom of God could never realize the vocation accorded to it by God, and which the two parables had represented. But Jesus' prophecy extended far beyond this darkest mystery of the future. The Baptist had spoken of a new Israel which God's miraculous power could raise from the pebbles on the Jordan strand, if that generation refused to listen to him (Matt. iii. 9). But no fresh miracle was required. The Gentiles even then were intensely conscious of the hopeless destruction to which they were doomed; they were waiting patiently for the glad tidings of a new revelation, and a new way of salvation. If Israel did not fulfil its earthly vocation of bearing these tidings to the surrounding peoples, the time had come when, not through the mediation of Israel, but in its place, they were to be God's chosen ones among whom the kingdom with its blessings was to be realized. They would come from the east and the west, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God (Luke xiii. 29; comp. Matt. viii. 11 f.).

In the oldest source this last threatening seems to have been conjoined with a narrative which brings us to the period of Jesus' departure from Galilee (Luke xiii. 31–33), for it must

between this warning and the parables of the Mustard-Seed and Leaven, and has added a reminiscence of the parable of the Ten Virgins (xiii. 25). But even so we can still perceive what must have been the essential form of the discourse as given in the apostolic source. That the first evangelist also knew it in this form, is proved from the manner in which he makes its preamble the passage to the epilogue of the Sermon on the Mount (vii. 13 f.), though by this the narrow way of virtue and the broad path of vice entirely lose their historical colouring. We see the same thing, too, from his employment of Jesus' warning to His contemporaries as a caution to the evil-doers of the apostolic age (Matt. vii. 22 f.; comp. Luke xiii. 26 f.). We have already noticed how thoughtfully he has interwoven the following prophecy (Luke xiii. 33 f.) into the story of the Gentile centurion (comp. vol. ii. p. 51).

have been this which led the evangelist to allude to the end which Jesus had in view during these last wanderings through the province (Luke xiii. 22). We have already seen how mysterious Jesus' appearance seemed to the conscience-stricken tetrarch, Herod Antipas. It now appears that he had resort to a cunning expedient in order to get Jesus at least removed from his territory. He caused certain Pharisees—who must have represented themselves as well-disposed—to warn Him against murderous plots on the part of Herod, and his expectation was that fear would induce Jesus to follow good advice and fly across the frontier. It cannot be supposed that Herod only caused this intelligence to be spread abroad, and that the caution from the Pharisees was induced by their own desire of getting rid of a troublesome opponent. If they had any interest in taking part in this intrigue, it could only be in order to prevail upon Jesus to proceed to Judea, because they knew that there He would fall into the hands of His worst enemies—the members of the hierarchy. But it is quite possible that the whole plan was contrived by the Herodians (Mark iii. 6), who thus met the wishes of the Pharisees indirectly, though they dared not do so openly. Jesus saw through it all, and He let "the fox" Herod know that He was not to be frightened by such menaces. His day's work, which He described as the performance of cures and the casting out of devils, must be carried on to-day and to-morrow and the day following, *i.e.* the time which God had decreed,—then and not till then would the end come.[1] No doubt the date of His departure was divinely decreed, but the reason for it could not

[1] There may be doubts as to whether this incident does not belong to a later period when Jesus revisited Perea, which was also under the control of Herod. He speaks of His day's work (Luke xiii. 32) as it was in the earlier period of His ministry, and had perhaps been taken up here again, and yet we have seen that at that time He had withdrawn Himself from His true popular activity, or at least from His ministry of healing. But apart from the fact that, in words which were destined for Herod, He could describe His work as it had been at an earlier date, we must not forget that, even when the populace as a whole had deserted Him, Jesus had still in Galilee a band of devoted adherents among whom He even now continued His ministry. This was formed by those publicans and sinners who had come to Him with a true desire for salvation, and those devout souls who had already received from Him the greatest of blessings. During the last days of His residence there He would not neglect to promote the development of the seed which He had scattered.

be a threatening of danger from Herod: it was rather the necessity Jesus was under of going to meet His fate; for it could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem. There was no irony in Jesus deducing the certainty of this from the fact of the headquarters of the theocracy having so often shown itself to be the true seat of enmity against God's messengers. He certainly knew long ere this that His death could only be significant for salvation if He were slain, after being rejected by the leaders in the name of the people, although it was for their salvation He had come. The final catastrophe could only happen where the hierarchy had its seat.

Jesus knew that His days were numbered. But He Himself could do nothing which would take Him to the scene of the last inevitable conflicts. He could not depart until God gave the signal; and He did not wait for that in vain.

SIXTH BOOK.

THE JERUSALEM PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE WAY TO JERUSALEM.

THE feast of Tabernacles was at hand. Jesus had not been present at the first two great festivals of the year, and it seemed the more likely therefore that He would at least go up to the third. We know that He could not think of going without a set purpose, for He was absolutely certain that He would be obliged to submit to His fate at Jerusalem (Luke xiii. 33), and He had no reason for hastening the catastrophe which would end His earthly ministry. He knew that in the capital He was to accomplish part of the work committed to Him, but without express divine sanction He dared not seek the spot which was to be so fatal. He had once characterized the invocation of miraculous aid from above as a tempting of God (Matt. iv. 5–7), and now it was clear that without such assistance He would sooner or later fall into the hands of His enemies in Jerusalem; there could be no hope of rescue; for His Galilean countrymen had given abundant evidence that they could not be depended on for any lasting partisanship. The Apostle John endeavoured to emphasize these considerations when, in introducing the passage which depicts Jesus under divine protection as victoriously struggling with His enemies at Jerusalem (comp. vol. i. p. 128), he relates minutely how it happened that in spite of all obstacles to his going, Jesus finally proceeded to the feast to begin an extended ministry in the metropolis (John vii. 1–10).

He did not wish to go, and showed Himself quite impervious to all the pressure which was brought to bear on Him by those who were, humanly speaking, His nearest on earth. We already know that His brethren were eagerly waiting for the time when He would openly proclaim Himself to be the Messiah who was to fulfil all the hopes which the people had cherished, and which they themselves had associ-

ated with the first-born from His cradle. It was clear to them that this could only happen at the centre of the theocracy and not in their remote northern province; and it was also clear that He was rather receding from this end by the way in which He had of late been withdrawing from the people, whose enthusiasm had been roused by His deeds of healing, in order to hold converse with the most limited circle of His disciples. The approaching feast appeared to them to offer a favourable opportunity for paving the way to His final goal; they proposed to go up to the feast in solemn cavalcade, and trusted that marvellous examples of His power would greatly affect those of His Galilean followers who should be assembled at the feast.[1] But Jesus opposed their wishes. He did not see that the time had come for a public entry which He knew well would have a very different result from that dreamed of by the brethren. He had to reckon on the deadly enmity of those in authority, for He had awakened that by revealing to them their sins; and thus it was that He decidedly refused to accompany His brethren to this feast. We perceive from this that it was not His duty to plunge madly into danger, and so necessitate a divine interposition between Himself and His enemies; He once more resisted the temptation presented to Him by the persistence of the brethren. When He did go up to Jerusalem later, the reflections called forth by this conversation with the brethren must have become like an indication from God that He must now go where every earthly consideration dissuaded Him from going, and yet for that very reason God's protection was guaranteed

[1] The much misinterpreted words of the brethren (John vii. 3 f.) neither supply the information that as yet He had only gained a small following in Judea, nor do they indicate that He had lost or was about to lose all His Galilean disciples. They are only comprehensible if the evangelist presupposed that we know from the synoptic tradition that Jesus had latterly withdrawn more completely from His public ministry, and, moreover, the apparent assumption that Jesus will not change His attitude in Galilee, suggests the supposition that the evangelist framed the words of the brethren in accordance with his deeper insight into Jesus' motives. It is quite an uncalled-for hypothesis that they wished to accomplish His destruction by counselling the journey to Jerusalem or that they thought that they would profit by His removal from Galilee. Without doubt they only wished to hasten His departure in the hope that it would prove to be for His glory and their own advantage. With John vii. 5, comp. vol. ii. p. 284.

to Him at least till His hour should come. We have here an example of how Jesus, when called upon to decide on cases in which every earthly computation would be unavailing, became fully cognizant of God's will through the mediation of the Spirit under whose influence He had lived since His baptism. But even when it became a certainty that God's will demanded that He should now begin His final activity at Jerusalem, Jesus by no means fulfilled the wish of the brethren. He did not, as they had hoped, proceed publicly to Jerusalem in the festive procession; for, as His last journey to the Passover showed, that would infallibly have roused the enthusiasm of the people anew, and thus have hastened the catastrophe which He wished to avoid. He did not receive any intimation of the divine will till long after the crowd of Galileans had started on their journey, and so was enabled to proceed unnoticed to Jerusalem with His small company of disciples.[1]

John does not tell what road Jesus chose; but as, according to Luke, He entered into a village of the Samaritans after He had left Galilee for ever (Luke ix. 51 f.), nothing is more likely than that He took the shortest route through Samaria. No prejudice compelled Him to avoid the territory of the hated race; and by taking the pilgrims' way through Perea He might possibly have encountered delayed caravans, and that would have made His entry into Jerusalem assume the provocatory character which He wished to avoid. His present journey through Samaria was therefore undertaken with as little purpose of beginning a missionary activity there as was the former one (comp. Book iii. chap. iii.); and besides, what He experienced of the enmity of the populace towards His

[1] If this explanation be not sufficient, then there is nothing left but to assume that Jesus refused to join the procession or to start at the same time as the other worshippers, because He was determined to follow later, in order to avoid every kind of demonstration on His entry into the city. It is, however, quite in vain to try either critically or exegetically to force this view of the course of events on our evangelist, for he evidently understood the answer to the brethren as a sharp refusal, and thought that the divine indication had come athwart Jesus' intentions. It is, of course, quite impossible to credit him with the invention of a scene which made the heathen Porphyrius taunt Jesus with inconsistency, just that His independence of all earthly counsel might be maintained, or even that He might be represented as entering Jerusalem in a mysterious half-Docetian way.

followers whenever He put His foot on Samaritan soil seemed to offer no call for such a mission. Indeed, when He sent some of His disciples to a Samaritan village to ask for hospitality, the inhabitants refused it, not indeed because He was the Messiah of the Jews, but because His face was as though He would go to Jerusalem, and the national antipathy of the people was roused against a traveller to the repudiated place of worship. It was here that the sons of Zebedee wished to call down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable place, even as Elias had done; and Jesus had to rebuke the Boanerges for their vengeful zeal (Luke ix. 52–55).[1]

Jesus' own experience was certainly better; for soon after they had crossed the boundaries of Samaria an event must have occurred of which Luke has obtained an account from one of those sources which are peculiar to himself (Luke xvii. 11–19). Only in the frontier district could nine Jewish lepers and one Samaritan associate together; they were driven to do so by their common need, and together they came to Jesus for help. After Jesus had promised to cure, He told them to go and show themselves to the priests that they might be cleansed, and the process was begun and perfected as they went (comp. vol. ii. p. 96). When Jesus was Himself on the way to Jerusalem, we can easily understand how one of those who had been cleansed might seek his benefactor to thank Him for the divine miracle which He had wrought on his behalf. Tradition has transmitted to us the sorrowful words of Jesus when He asked after the nine who had not returned like this stranger to give God the glory, which He demands and receives when the Mediator of His miraculous aid is thanked for what has been wrought.[2]

It is an old opinion that John's Gospel inexplicably contradicts the older tradition with regard to this journey to the feast of Tabernacles. There is no doubt that Jesus never

[1] The precedent which the brothers found in Elias' action (2 Kings i. 10–12), as well as the words in which our version has made Jesus administer His rebuke, are not to be found in the oldest MSS., but are taken from a later addition. It is pure caprice to transfer to this journey the events related in John iv.

[2] There is here no good reason for following Weisse in regarding this narrative as a metamorphosed parable, seeing that all its presuppositions were afforded by the historical situations; nor yet is it advisable to accept Strauss' verdict, that

again returned to His home. All attempts to insert traditions from a pretended later Galilean ministry in the middle of John's continuous narrative of Jesus' activity in Judea, Perea, and the capital (John vii. 11), are shattered on the plain meaning of the Gospel, and are but strained endeavours to reconcile apparent discrepancies. It is quite incomprehensible that anything could have induced Jesus to return to Galilee, where His work had long been finished, and where a resumption of it could lead to no further result. It is usually assumed that the synoptical account represents Jesus, when He left Galilee for ever, as journeying directly to the Passover at Jerusalem, at which He met His death. But this idea is exclusively founded on our first Gospel, which, in its whole account of the historical details of the life of Jesus, is entirely dependent on Mark. We might perhaps gather from it, that when Jesus left Galilee, soon after His last visit to Capernaum (Matt. xvii. 24), He travelled directly to Jerusalem (xix. 1, xx. 17, xxi. 1), although no actual proof can be advanced to show that the evangelist himself thought so. But whenever we examine the Gospel according to Mark, from whose account the other is constructed, we see that this idea cannot be entertained. In his account of Jesus' later ministry, Mark repeatedly chronicles considerable journeys, which led Him across the boundaries of Galilee (Mark vii. 24, viii. 27), although He always returned to the Sea of Galilee and to Capernaum (vii. 31, ix. 33). After giving these descriptions, however, Mark—according to the oldest text—speaks of a journey into the territory of Judea and Perea from which Jesus never returned (x. 1). That Mark is unacquainted with the details of what took place in these districts, that he is equally ignorant of the duration of Jesus' sojourn, is evident from the way in which he arranges various portions of the narrative according to topical points of view (comp. vol. i. p. 48). But we see that he is not thinking of a direct

it is a fabulous imitation of 2 Kings v. 14 ff., because Naaman the Syrian, when he was cleansed of his leprosy, returned to thank God. Such an interpretation is not satisfactory, even if the narrator erroneously thought that the Samaritan returned whenever he became conscious of the cure which had been wrought in him. It is hardly conceivable that he could then have encountered Jesus, who was at that time on a journey. Comp. Book iii. chap. iii. with the narrative.

journey to the feast at Jerusalem from the prominence which he subsequently gives to the most important details of the commencement of that journey (x. 32); and besides, he describes how Jesus resumed His teaching in both of these—according to Mark's account—hitherto unvisited countries, and he mentions Perea after Judea, where, according to the prevalent supposition, Jesus must already have met His death (x. 1). On the other hand, this is in fullest concord with John, according to whom Jesus remained in Jerusalem some time after the feast of Tabernacles, and wrought miracles in the province of Judea till winter came on, when He betook Himself to Perea (John x. 40). Thus, though Mark's recollections may be fragmentary, he is by no means responsible for the first evangelist's mistake (if such there be), nor does he in any way contradict John's account.

These uncertainties have led to Luke being confidently indicated as the reliable authority for a complete account of Jesus' last journey to Jerusalem, which is so inseparably connected with His ministry in Galilee (ix. 51, xix. 28); and yet Luke nowhere gives any decided indication of the route which was taken. The journey begins with Jesus' entrance into Samaria (ix. 52), but later on He is still on the boundary of Samaria and Galilee (xvii. 11); and it is not till the evangelist has apparently made use of Mark's narrative (xviii. 15) that we are actually made cognizant of a genuine setting out for Jerusalem (xviii. 31), which leads Him nigh unto Jericho (xviii. 35, xix. 11). In this arrangement of Luke's, modern writers have found a reminiscence of various journeys to the feasts; some of these recollections, it is said, are in sad confusion, while others have been used to reconcile discrepancies. This theory is completely opposed to the meaning and phraseology of the evangelist, who manifestly understood from his sources of information, that Jesus spent the latter part of His active life in continual wanderings beyond Galilee; and at the beginning of the passage from which we gather this, he remarks that Jesus from the first had regarded Jerusalem as His goal (ix. 51). When the passage incidentally mentions that Jesus was then on a journey (x. 38, xiv. 25) of which the terminus was to be Jerusalem (xiii. 22, comp. xix. 11), it does so in order to introduce

narrations or orations which assume this to be the case, and the only real localization (xvii. 11) has evidently the same object in view (comp. xvii. 16). Supposing that Mark's relation is strictly chronological, Luke has in this passage taken everything of importance which Mark related of Jesus' deeds and has transferred them to Judea and Perea (Mark x. 1–31), and has told of the last journey of Jesus to the festival at Jerusalem (x. 32–52; Luke xviii. 31, xix. 28). He seems to have thought that certain indications justified him in transferring what he had principally drawn from the apostolic source (ix. 52, xviii. 14) to the time when Jesus began a constant life of wandering (ix. 58), and regarded His work in Galilee as finished (x. 13, 15). Unconsciously to himself, however, an incident which he has borrowed from one of his peculiar sources must have been enacted before the gates of Jerusalem (x. 38–42), and many items of this portion belong, without doubt, to the latest period (xi. 39–52, xii. 2–12, xiii. 34, xiv. 16–24, xvii. 26, xviii. 8). The composition of this section is thus clearly explained to us (comp. vol. i. p. 74). Seeing that Luke knows nothing of a journey to the feast of Tabernacles as related by John, and seeing that his account results from a very uncertain combination of material from his various sources, which was partly guided by correct insight and partly by incorrect assumptions, we cannot believe that his representation is contradictory of John's.

It has been opined that it is a historical reminiscence of this journey when Jesus is represented as appointing seventy disciples, and as sending them into every city and place into which He Himself would come (Luke x. 1). But this opinion, which assumes most improbably that Jesus purposed to enter upon an extensive ministry, and perform great deeds during His journey to a feast, is entirely opposed to the following discourse (x. 2–16), which refers throughout to a continued career of independent activity for the disciples, and it is also opposed to the fact that the disciples returned simultaneously, and instead of reporting the susceptibilities of the places visited, merely announced their own successes (x. 17).[1]

[1] The assumption of the "Tendenz" criticism, that this is an entirely figurative passage, intended to be a type of Paul's mission to the Gentiles,

More than that, we have seen that Luke found these instructions to the Twelve, which he had employed as given by Mark (chap. ix.), in the apostolic source, though in a very different form and addressed to Jesus' followers. From this he concluded that there must have been a second commission speech addressed to a larger circle of disciples (comp. x. 2, with vol. ii. p. 306 f.). It is quite improbable that he connected this with a traditionary account of a band of followers, consisting of some seventy persons, which resembled those gatherings of which there were afterwards so many. We have repeatedly seen that there was never any distinct larger circle of disciples. It must be left as an utter certainty whether the evangelist thought of Moses' choice of seventy elders in adopting the round number (Num. xi. 16), or whether the sending out of this enlarged band of disciples seemed to him significant of the later extension of the apostolic circle beyond the Twelve.

Jesus may have gone up to Jerusalem in obedience to God's express command before He knew that His last hour had come, but He did know that it was appointed that He should there fulfil His mission. He had dedicated the longest portion of His active life to the northern province, but He could not regard His mission to Israel as terminated till He had carried His message of salvation to the south also, and especially to the central seat of the theocracy. His position there might wear a threatening aspect from the first, but the hand of God would protect Him until He had accomplished the work committed to His charge. From a human point of view He was assured for the next feast of the adherence of His countrymen, who, if they had given up their belief in His Messiahship, still believed in Him as a divinely-sent prophet; and He could not doubt that He would soon gain followers in Jerusalem also. It was certainly to be apprehended that He would have no great success with the population of the capital, for that was under the immediate control of the hierarchy. On the other hand, however, the

assumes that the sphere of these seventy disciples was Galilee, which our text does not say. In an over-artistic way it introduces into the discourse instruction as to the attitude to be taken up towards the Gentiles, for which there is no ground (nor is there in x. 8; comp. vol. ii. p. 316, note).

incalculable effects of His wondrous works might, if they once created an impression, have an effect far transcending that on the frivolous people of Galilee; and it was impossible to foresee how far a hierarchy which was so dependent on the favour of the people might yield to the pressure of such a movement. His fate could not be decided till the inhabitants of the capital had received an opportunity to express themselves regarding Jesus and His offer of salvation. Jesus did not therefore go up to Jerusalem at this time in order to die there, but principally to begin a new phase of His ministry.

CHAPTER II.

AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

ON the fifteenth day of the month Tisri began the great Jewish harvest-thanksgiving. After the seven days of this celebration an eighth followed, which, like the first, was of an entirely Sabbatical character; and this eighth day is reckoned by modern Jews as the closing day of the festival itself. This national festival served at the same time as a commemoration of the wonders which God had wrought for His people during their sojourn in the wilderness. It was therefore the custom to live in booths of woven boughs, and processions of devotees with palm branches in their hands proceeded daily to the large altar of burnt-offering in the temple court to sacrifice there amid songs of praise. On the night between the first day and the second, when the general joy culminated, the outer court of the women was illuminated by the four-branched golden candelabrum being lighted, and the people were spectators of the torch-dance of the priests, which was accompanied by music and the singing of psalms. On every morning of the seven actual feast-days a priest drew water in a golden vessel from the fountain of Siloam; another received it from him during the rehearsal of the prophet's words by the choir (Isa. xii. 3), and poured it out on the altar amid music and song. Great jubilation surged through the multitudes of people who crowded the town, and the Gentile spectator was irresistibly reminded of the wild orgies of Bacchus.[1]

The hostile hierarchy as well as Jesus' Galilean adherents had calculated with certainty on Jesus' appearance at the last of the three feasts, and they were much surprised when the last caravan arrived and Jesus was nowhere to be seen. He was no doubt freely discussed, and public

[1] Comp. Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 6, 8.

opinion was divided concerning Him. Some praised Him as a man of honour; for even if He had disappointed the expectations of the people He was still their benefactor, yea more, for thousands He was a prophet mighty in word and deed. Others declared Him to be a seducer of the people; for had He not tried to mislead them as to His Messiahship. No one believed in Him any longer as the Messiah; He had departed in too many particulars from their preconceived idea. But neither party ventured to give public expression to their opinion regarding Jesus, because they feared their national rulers. Their wonted subjection to the hierarchy made people shrink from placing themselves in any way in opposition to it. It follows therefore as a matter of course, that the chief men among the people were uncertain what official attitude they should adopt towards the Hated One until they had discovered the general feeling regarding Him (John vii. 11–13). It is very characteristic, that when Jesus afterwards spoke of their desire to kill Him, the pilgrims ascribed this fixed idea to the promptings of a devil, and asked Him: Who goeth about to kill thee? (John vii. 20). So far were they from thinking that any one would dare to use violence towards Him. The case was certainly different with the inhabitants of Jerusalem. They knew that the hierarchy had sworn to take His life, but they believed it to be possible, though not probable, that the fatal determination might be changed (John vii. 25 f.).

It was not till about the middle of the feast that Jesus went up to the temple and began to teach (John vii. 14). We see from this passage that the evangelist purposely began his narrative with the ensuing controversies regarding the person of Jesus; for he gives no information whatever as to the actual contents of Jesus' discourses in the temple, but merely mentions that He taught there. For that very reason he leaves it possible to suppose that these discourses were of just such a character as we find they present in the Synoptics, and that they spoke of the kingdom of God, and of the religio-ethical conditions of participation therein. Further, the subsequent discussions clearly show that Jesus had been speaking of the purely spiritual aim of His ministry, for He says His work can only strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of those

who strive to fulfil the divine will (John vii. 17; comp. Matt. v. 6). In His sermon in the Galilean synagogue He must frequently have referred to the Old Testament Scriptures, and John relates that the hierarchs were astonished at the knowledge of the Scriptures which He displayed, for at the seat of learning they knew that He had received no professional instruction (John vii. 15).[1] Jesus expressly refused to appear with the lustre of a self-taught man who had reaped the fruits of His own studious industry, and this at once introduced a discussion as to whether or not He had been sent from God. If He were God's messenger, He must have received from God Himself that which He was to speak. But for an acknowledgment that He spoke God's words, He could only appeal to the sympathy of all who earnestly wished to do God's will. It naturally follows that He uttered no dead scholastic learning, and that those who asked whence His speeches came, were incapable of judging their true character. But to those who lacked the subjective test by which they might recognise the divine origin of His teaching, an objective criterion was given as a verification of the justness of His claim. It is natural that he who utters his own wisdom will be honoured. It was indeed against the vanity and ambition of the scribes that Jesus had so often striven (comp. Matt. xxiii. 8–10); but any one could see that everything He Himself said was for the glory of God, and it should have been inferred from this that He did not falsely assert the divinity of His message and the higher origin of His discourses in order to exalt Himself. Nay, He could appeal to the moral unity of the character of His appearance to verify the truth of His statements, and the entire absence of self-seeking in His zeal for

[1] We can quite understand why it was that this astonishment now found utterance for the first time. Jesus' appearance at the Passover, more than a year and a half before, had probably been long forgotten, and at that time the hierarchy did not concern itself about His somewhat preliminary announcement. We do not know whether He had appeared publicly at this year's feast of Purim, seeing that His work of healing had involved Him in strife with the strict observers of the Sabbath. The suppositions are entirely unfounded that He here entered on a rivalry with the scribes which was different from that in Galilee, or that He immediately insisted on the right understanding of His personality, and was more uncompromising to the national blindness.

the honour of God was a further confirmation of that truth (John vii. 16–18).

But this was the very point in regard to which Jesus knew He would surely meet with opposition. In one particular at least His morality had long been subject to criticism; His acts of healing on the Sabbath were regarded by some as a transgression of the law, which merited death, while others who did not go so far shared in the surprise at a procedure which they could not reconcile with His general observance of the law. Thus it is easily explained how the cures which He had wrought on the Sabbath were so soon brought into discussion, and it is quite in the manner of the Synoptists when Jesus points out that the Old Testament law cannot forbid the performance of cures on the Sabbath, when it expressly enjoins circumcision on the eighth day, on whatever day it may fall (comp. vol. ii. p. 169). If they were to condemn Him on that account without further cause, it would be merely a judgment according to the appearance. The law demanded righteous judgment (Lev. xix. 15; Deut. i. 17, xvi. 19), and that could only be exercised by a proper estimation of the whole law, and of the manner in which He had apprehended the intention of the lawgiver (John vii. 19–24).[1]

How far the Fourth Gospel is from being constructed after an ideal scheme is evident from the way in which it describes how the multitude, composed chiefly of Galileans, discussed the question of Jesus' Messiahship, although it had already told of the defection of the Galileans from faith in the

[1] Instead of pointing to the category of His works, Jesus refers expressly to the formerly narrated cure on the Sabbath, because of which a protest had been made against His moral conduct. It is, of course, only the evangelist who makes the transition from the statement of their desire to kill Him so abrupt (John vii. 21), because it was evidently on account of His Sabbath-breaking that they declared Him to be worthy of death. In the same way the evangelist unites with the account of (John vii. 19) the present proceedings, the somewhat vague appeal to the law which none of them kept. It only appears from vii. 24 that Jesus upbraided them for not making the law the criterion of their judgment. But it should not be overlooked that He purposely observed sharply that the members of the Sadducean hierarchy (in direct opposition to Phariseeism) were not particularly strict in their own observance of the law, and it would consequently be a case of censoriousness (Matt. vii. 3 f.) if they continually returned to these pretended transgressions.

Messiah (chap. vi.). We see from this that Jesus preached the kingdom of God in Jerusalem also, and that He must have attached its future efficacy more or less clearly to His own person. The powerful impression left by His preaching always revived the question whether He was the prophet promised by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15), or the Messiah Himself. To controvert that supposition, His Galilean origin was made use of, because according to prophecy the great son of David was to come from Bethlehem; but does not this show how petty and superficial were the reasons with which the people who had been so bitterly disappointed in their expectations now fortified themselves to oppose the otherwise inevitable impression? (John vii. 40–43). Nevertheless, the old hopes were roused anew, and Jesus' public appearance at the feast after His long retirement re-awakened the old enthusiasm for Him. Formerly they had demanded a sign which would confirm His claim to the dignity of Messiah (comp. Book iv. chap. iii.). Now they began to consider whether His miraculous cures were not a sufficient sign, and whether greater miracles could be demanded for the support of His Messianic claim (John vii. 31).[1] Even in metropolitan circles Jesus' Messiahship was earnestly discussed, and what apparently influenced them most was His unconcealed opposition to the hierarchy which had so long kept the populace under its yoke. Had He not maintained to its face His right to follow out His own interpretation of the injunctions regarding the Sabbath? And yet He was left in peace after making this statement. Such a state of things finally raised the question as to whether the hierarchy had already decided against His claims or not (John vii. 25 f.). In these circles that which most retarded faith in Jesus was His notoriously humble origin in the despised northern province (comp. also John

[1] They are thinking apparently of His works of healing in Galilee, for the cures which Jesus wrought in Jerusalem seem to have been very exceptional. Mark implies that He only resumed His work of teaching in Judea and Perea (Mark x. 1), but the first evangelist had evidently some difficulty in reconciling such a state of matters with his own conceptions (Matt. xix. 2). There was now no doubt as to His Messianic claim, and such sermons in deeds were not required in Jerusalem. If He had refused to heal, as in Nazareth, on account of their unbelief, such an act would have given rise to serious misapprehension (Mark vi. 5).

vii. 52). Here at the seat of the hierarchy, where priestly ideals had long taken the place of the old dreams of a coming king, there was no great interest in the lineage of David and the heritage of Bethlehem; but it did seem as if the Messiah would be a mysterious apparition very different from this provincial man with His insignificant kindred. When Jesus heard of such objections, He proclaimed in the temple that His extraction was indeed entirely unknown to them; they might certainly know His human origin, but as He alone knew who had sent Him, His real origin must for ever be a mystery to them (John vii. 27–29).[1]

One trait, running through the whole of Jesus' experience in Jerusalem, calls to mind His last exhortations to repentance in Galilee (Book v. chap. xii.). Jesus did not know how long He would be permitted to keep on this ground which was shaking under His feet, but He felt a foreboding that His time for action was limited, and He became proportionately more earnest and more importunate in His injunctions to the people to make use of the short time during which He would be with them. If they neglected this gracious respite and rejected Jesus, they would one day desire a Messiah in vain. It would then be impossible for them to reach the goal to which He was now willing to lead them. In their desire to neutralize the impression which these exhortations visibly made on the people, the hierarchs mockingly attributed to His words the meaning that if His own people refused Him, He would go to the Dispersion and teach the Greeks (John vii. 33–36).[2] This insulting perversion of His words takes away all opportunity of judging

[1] The evangelist has doubtless introduced his own view of Jesus' heavenly origin into these half ironical words which are so pregnant with meaning. They not only refer to His divine mission, in which the highest and last revelation of God is perfected, and which He can explain only from His peculiar knowledge of the Father and His decrees (Matt. xi. 27). But neither are they a mere outburst of rhetoric, they contain the severe reproach that because His hearers will not allow Him to lead them to a true knowledge of Him who has sent Him, they are compelled to fortify themselves with the paltriest objections for the war which they are waging against the impression made by His appearance.

[2] The evangelist has evidently borne these words in mind while reporting another saying which had an entirely different tendency (John viii. 21 f.). For that reason the point of connection for this gibe has become less self-evident

whether they really thought of such a possibility; it was not indeed inconsonant with the proselytizing of the Jews (comp. Matt. xxiii. 15), or with much which they might have heard of Jesus' journeys into the lands of the Gentiles, or of His friendly words to the heathen. They were not contented with mocking Jesus as the future Messiah of the Gentiles—a position which in their eyes was a profound degradation. From the first they had decided to destroy Him; but when they noticed how popular enthusiasm for Him was visibly increasing, they decided to begin direct opposition. The sect of the Pharisees was severest in its censure, because feeling its own power to be most menaced; it procured a mandate from the Council ordering that Jesus should be taken prisoner (John vii. 30–32). All that was now awanting was a favourable moment for the execution of their purpose.

The last day, that great day of the feast, was come. Not a few of the worshipping pilgrims, and among them most of Jesus' followers, had started for home on the seventh day, when the dwelling in tents was discontinued. There was now no time for delay, for it was quite uncertain how long Jesus would remain in the city. To-day certainly He had appeared publicly, and had spoken of the streams of water which, according to prophecy, were to flow when the Messiah should come (Isa. xliv. 3, lv. 1). In the Sermon on the Mount He had formerly declared the thirsting ones to be blessed (Matt. v. 6), and at Jacob's well He had spoken of the water which quenches all thirst for ever (John iv. 10–14). To-day also He employed the same metaphor in conveying to all yearning hearts His message of salvation as their best means of satisfaction. But, referring to Isa. v. 8, 11, He proceeded more particularly to speak of the promise that this gift, properly used, would flow from one to another like a refreshing stream till the whole nation should participate in the fulness of the Messianic blessings (John vii. 37).[1] His

than it originally was, and similarly, in the later passage (viii. 21), reference to a seeking for the Messiah is introduced, which could hardly be regarded as relevant to the subject of conversation.

[1] Of course it is only the theme of His sermon, so to speak, which the evangelist imparts to us. We do not know if His metaphors were derived from the libations of water which would to-day cease with the feast itself, and which He would replace by something higher, or from the miraculous ways of providing

words had certainly testified clearly to the spiritual character of the salvation which He announced. But the people had ever been accustomed to put more than this into these metaphors, and His words ever and anon renewed their expectations of a Messiah. They might still dispute whether Jesus was the expected Messiah, or only His forerunner, but no one now dared to say a hostile word against Him. All were carried away by His eloquence, and even the officers of the Council, who had been waiting for the right moment to execute their commission, were obliged to acknowledge that "Never man spake like this man" (vii. 46). Sharing in the general enthusiasm, they did not dare to lay hands on Him; and even had they wished to do so, it would have been difficult for them to accomplish their purpose in face of the present attitude and disposition of the people (vii. 40–43). The evangelist's words now received their first confirmation: No man dared to lay hands on Him, because His hour was not yet come (vii. 30).

When the officers returned to those who had commissioned them, and confessed why they had not fulfilled their charge, the Pharisees who had suggested the expedient of imprisonment were not a little angry. Was it thus that servants of the holy court, whose only duty was to render loyal obedience, had let themselves be deceived by a man in whom none of the rulers or paragons of piety in the land believed? It was too true that they belonged to the common people, who were cursed and exposed to every error on account of their ignorance of the law. This impotent rage of the Pharisees was increased by the feeling that they dared not take proceedings against the servants who had been carried away by the enthusiasm of the people, and had been actual witnesses of the immense influence and attractive power of Jesus. More than that:

water in the desert which the celebration of the forty years' sojourn commemorated, as being a type of His own more important sojourn on earth. It is particularly noteworthy that He here refers purposely to prophecy. When the evangelist calls to mind that these words would not be fulfilled until the Holy Ghost should be poured out after the glorification of Jesus (John vii. 39), and full power should be given for spreading abroad the message of salvation, he does not thereby mean to explain the metaphor of the living water, but he intends to prove the truth of Jesus' promise from his own blessed experience.

among themselves reflections had been thrown out against a proceeding by which, contrary to law, Jesus was condemned without trial. Perhaps the warrant of arrest had been issued without proper judicial authority, and this was its first official consideration. Perhaps Nicodemus had now a first opportunity of defending the man whom he had once sought by night, and of demanding that at least the form of justice should be observed. But if so, he only met with the mocking response, "Art thou also of Galilee, that thy sympathy is thus expressed for this man? So far as our knowledge goes, no prophet has as yet come out of Galilee." The deep chagrin of the chief priests and rulers was thus mirrored in this passionate exaggeration; after feeling the annihilating power of the enemy, they were becoming cognizant of the appearance of strife in their own camp (John vii. 44–52).[1]

The feast was over, the pilgrims had returned to their homes.[2] Jesus continually visited the courts of the temple and prosecuted His public teaching without hindrance. Indeed, He was temporarily protected against new plots of the priests by the followers whom He had attached to Himself during the feast. The hierarchy felt that they must first seek to undermine His influence with the people, and to accomplish this the Pharisees were ever ready with their knowledge of the law to try and nullify His words with their questions. Again Jesus employed well-known prophetic imagery (Isa. ix. 1, lx. 20), and spoke of the light of life which had been kindled in Him for the sake of the people; and just as in Galilee, He maintained that it was not sufficient to hear Him, but that He must be followed and adhered to. By discipleship only was it possible to become partakers of His salvation. To this the Pharisees objected, that He bore record of Himself,

[1] We do not know whether the evangelist received his information regarding these deliberations from some of his own associates in the high priest's palace (xviii. 15) or from Nicodemus, who afterwards became a disciple of Jesus. It is self-evident that the narrative makes no claim to be a protocol of the transactions; but there is such lifelike truth in every feature of it, that the evangelist may well be credited with knowing that the principle appealed to by the enemies of the Galilean was by no means quite unprecedented.

[2] It is mere caprice to connect the following events with the feast of Tabernacles, because the *people*, as they have hitherto been called in contradistinction to the metropolitans, have entirely vanished from the scene. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that Jesus had now left the capital.

and that according to the most fundamental principles of law self-testimony was of no value (John viii. 12 f.). On a former occasion Jesus had made use of this very maxim (v. 31); but He now demanded exemption from a legislative rule which did not apply to His particular case. The nature of any appearance can only be judged by those who know its origin and aim, and as He alone knew whence He came and whither He was going, no one could testify either for or against Him, and His own true witness must be accepted. Jesus was not thinking here of His divine mission merely. Ever since His final ascension to heaven had been more clearly in view, He had begun to indicate more distinctly that deepest mystery of His origin which alone made the final ascension possible (p. 83). In direct opposition to these word-splitters He appealed to this mystery of His unparalleled knowledge of Himself, which must ever remain a mystery to them, so that their judgment of Him would never be more than superficial (viii. 15).

Jesus must have been answered by the retort that He always escaped discussion of the matter in hand by censuring and chiding. By way of reply He might truly say that His business was not to censure (comp. John iii. 17, and vol. ii. p. 25), but that when He did judge, His judgment was true, because the great Judge who had sent Him was ever present with Him (viii. 15 f.). Thus it happened that He defeated those appealers to law with their own weapons. He knew well that the law which they always appealed to so confidently demanded the corresponding testimony of two witnesses for confirmation of the truth (Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15; comp. Matt. xviii. 16). If, then, they were thoroughly determined to have satisfaction on that point, He too was prepared to submit to the law; for to His own testimony, whose validity He had just proved, was added the testimony of the Father, who had given evidence by the works which He had given Jesus to do that this was indeed the Chosen One whom He had sent to complete the salvation of the people (viii. 17 f.). Upon this the Pharisees remarked mockingly that it was easy to appeal to a witness whom they could neither summon nor examine; but Jesus replied that they themselves were entirely at fault because they would not acknowledge how by

His whole life He had revealed the Father, and how God Himself had come to His people in the person of His Messiah with supremest tokens of favour (viii. 19). It was their ignorance of His personality which alone rendered them incapable of receiving the witnesses whom He had cited; for if they had recognised Him for what He was, they would have demanded no witness at all. Jesus then goes on to show that He only paid attention to their juridical objections with a view of evidencing how unsuitable such external legislative forms were in their application to Him. Whoever did not recognise a direct revelation from God in His person and works, could not be convinced of the truth of His declarations by any judicial ratification.[1]

The fact that the rulers only disputed with Jesus, and did not take earnest proceedings against Him, is the best proof of the support He had already gained from the inhabitants of Jerusalem. A little more penetration than was possible to the obscure limitations of their learning, would have shown His opponents that they were always the losers by these arguments; but Jesus Himself could feel no disposition to manifest the deepest depths of His religious consciousness in order to controvert the superficial arguments of these quibblers. He had not come to conquer them through strife, but if possible to save them; and as a first step in that direction, He warned those who had been so irresponsive to His message of salvation of the end which the way they had chosen would lead

[1] It is evident that this is no dialectic play by the evangelist, for John remembers exactly that this discussion took place in the treasury in the court of the women (Mark xii. 41; John viii. 20). Here also it is only the theme of Jesus' sermon to the people which is indicated, and it cannot therefore be regarded as remarkable that John should formulate this according to his own system both as regards matter and form (viii. 12); so that the metaphor of light appears applied differently. What principally interested the evangelist was the discussion on the person of Jesus which followed this address. The startling turn which is given to the discussion in viii. 16 merely shows that the *motives* of the separate parts of the conversation had already become obscure to the evangelist, and that he has compressed into one speech what Jesus said in the course of consecutive arguments. Much which even accords with former utterances may have been introduced by the evangelist. The similarity of viii. 14, 19 with vii. 28 f. shows equally in both passages what a wonderful power of argument Jesus possessed, but the thoughts themselves are entirely different, and the assumed identity of viii. 15 f. with iii. 17 ff. only evinces a want of exact exegesis.

to. For the first time He spoke to the chief Pharisees and Sadducees of His death. He wished them to know that He foresaw what was coming; but He Himself was going to a glory to which they would never attain; they would die in their sins. Again they tried to give His words an insulting meaning: Perhaps He was going to kill Himself, and go to the place prepared for suicides in hell; thither they certainly neither wished nor expected to follow Him (viii. 21 f.; comp. p. 171, note). They never suspected that He was thinking of their murderous plans, or if they did, they acted as if that could not possibly be the subject of His comment. But in that taunt Jesus only saw an outcome of that opposition which from the first had separated them from Him. The heavenly tendency of His whole being testified to His heavenly origin, while their striving for worldly objects proved their worldly origin. Only by faith in Him could this contrast be nullified, and since they did not wish to believe they would perish in their sins (viii. 23 f.). For the first time Jesus now foreshadowed faintly the fearful judgment to be meted out to that corrupt hierarchy, which He afterwards predicted so unequivocally.

Here also it is very clear that there is little cause for the reproach which is sometimes bestowed on John's Gospel, that it represents Jesus as everywhere announcing His Messianic claim, and even His higher nature, no matter whether He was in presence of friends or foes. We do not even know if those ambiguous words as to His heavenly origin referred to His divine mission or to something higher. His opponents, however, asked plainly who He was whose demeanour was so unprecedented. For reply He referred them to His former statements regarding Himself, but added that they should rather ask whence He received the words which He spake to them. He had still many things to say and to judge of, but He could only speak the truth, which He had learned from Him who had sent Him (viii. 25 f.). Let them deduce their conclusions from that. Seeing that they did not wish to hear the truth, all argument would be in vain; and the evangelist declares justly that such unwillingness confirmed their insensibility to the message of salvation. It was not want of understanding, but unwillingness to receive, which kept them from recognising that the whole aim of

Jesus' teaching was to reveal the Father, who had sent the Son in fulfilment of His promise (viii. 27).

Notwithstanding all, Jesus announced that there was still hope for them also. He had once taken the sign of the prophet Jonah to typify His wonderful rescue from death (Matt. xii. 39 f.), and now He spoke of His ascension to heaven, which they would unwittingly further by hastening His death. This unexpected issue of their criminal conduct will open the eyes of many; He therefore tells them plainly what He meant from the first when He spoke of His departure. But they are not therefore to think that He cut short their fruitless discussions in order to escape their hostile vengeance. That which He spoke was not chosen and willed by Himself, it was only what His Father had taught Him to say. If that should rouse their enmity anew, and lead them finally to compass His earthly destruction, then let them know that He has not been given into their hands without a protector. God's protection follows Him everywhere, because He always does the Father's will. Before His hour comes they cannot lay hands on Him (comp. viii. 20); and it will only be in fulfilment of the decree and will of the Father when He is finally delivered into their hands (viii. 28 f.).

That was His answer to the rulers; but His relation to the ordinary population of the capital, hopeful though it appeared, had to reach a crisis also.

The crisis was at hand.

CHAPTER III.

RUPTURE WITH THE CAPITAL.

JESUS' following in the capital increased from day to day. Already a band of disciples had attached themselves to Him, as had been the case in Galilee. Indeed, John's account assumes that faith in Jesus had found entrance even among those who had ever been disinclined to listen to Him, and had even opposed Him (John viii. 30 f.). We have already seen that sympathy had been excited even within the supreme Council, and this is confirmed by the conclusion of John's narrative; but from this point until the end came, official position seems to have imposed a certain reserve which was never quite broken through (xii. 42). In view of this fact, however, it is very remarkable that nothing is said of a ministry of healing which roused the people to enthusiasm for Jesus, or indeed of any miraculous deeds; it was the words Jesus uttered which agitated the minds of men. But just as little in Jerusalem as in Galilee was it the religious form of His speech or its moral weight which attracted the multitude. No doubt there would be some who owed their inward peace to Jesus, but these were only individual cases. What really moved the multitudes was the hope of His ultimately proving the promised Deliverer of the nation.

The inhabitants of the capital had probably almost forgotten that ideal re-establishment of David's throne which so fascinated the minds of men in Galilee; the kingdom had become hated in Jerusalem by reason of family disputes and the cruelties of the Idumean upstarts, which resulted in civil war and foreign dominion. People were accustomed to look on the priesthood as the realization of the original ideal of the Old Testament theocracy. But the oppression of the Roman rule was far more felt here than in Galilee. Day by

day the weapons of the Roman garrison were seen glittering in the tower of Antonia, and the good gold of the citizens streamed into Roman custom chests. It was never forgotten that when the procurator entered upon office a few years before, and made his entry into the holy city, he had caused the soldiers to carry banners ornamented with images of the emperor—an act which was regarded as idolatrous profanation. At the same time he had caused the soldiers to attire themselves in Jewish garb and fall upon the people with cudgels, for, incensed by the temple treasure being employed to build an aqueduct, they had gathered round the governor with cries and complaints.[1] In this cruelly-treated populace, with their religious feelings injured in a thousand ways by foreign rule, anything which roused the hope of deliverance from the Roman yoke spread rapidly and took a powerful hold. Jesus certainly never encouraged any such hopes; but for a Jewish consciousness they were clearly the necessary consequence of His preaching of the kingdom of God. Where the hierarchy had its seat, there were no doubt men who cared little for it, whether represented under the form of Pharisaic zeal for the law, or of Sadducaic love for rule, with its pride and ambition. Jesus' unreserved action against both parties must doubtless have procured Him adherents in such circles. And it was not unnatural that men should imagine that He who dared do this must have special designs in view and be strongly supported, unless He were madly courting destruction. Words like those, which pointed to a final exaltation that would open the eyes even of His adversaries, or to aid upon which He can always rely (viii. 28 f.), might easily be interpreted to mean the elevation of His standard, for it seemed as if He would have every reason to count upon a successful termination to such an attempt.

But just as He had done in Galilee, Jesus saw what the real reasons were which caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to attach themselves to Him. He did not proceed to destroy the illusions of the multitude, but rather left the rectifying of these errors to the further progress of His teaching. He never doubted that the religio-ethical regeneration of the nation, for which He was labouring, would be highly success-

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1, 2; *Bell. Jud.* xi. 9. 2-4.

ful. This result He had committed to the wisdom of God, and He had not been entirely disappointed; for a hearing had at least been given to His exhortations, and individuals had been secured who would pursue the spiritual aims He had in view. Had He not appeared as the Fulfiller of a promise of which His contemporaries as a whole had only fastened on the part that touched the outward life of the nation, although the fulfilment of it was entirely dependent upon the realization of the aims which bore upon its inward life, but in which they had no interest? Jerusalem was to see, just as Galilee had done, that tragic development which from the first was involved in Jesus' Messianic vocation. The same crisis would therefore take place here which had happened there. In Jerusalem it was very likely to lead to a decided breach, and the disappointment of their fairest hopes might easily transform the enthusiasm of the multitude for Jesus into hostility against Him. The reason why this would be the case here was partly because the population had not been closely bound to Jesus by a lengthened ministry in their midst of teaching and healing, and partly owing to the fact that the hostile hierarchy understood the situation of affairs, and employed every token of a rising misunderstanding to incite the populace against Jesus, for its enthusiasm prevented any action being taken against this dangerous reformer. In this sense the reminiscences of the discussions which led to this breach, and which John has preserved on account of their great importance, are doubtless historically accurate (viii. 31–59).[1]

Jesus did not bring about the inevitable catastrophe by a theoretic explanation as to the character of the kingdom of

[1] These are doubtless only fragmentary reminiscences of some principal points in lengthened discussions. The evangelist must have kept them in his memory, and in his own way woven them into a continuous whole. No doubt many intermediate details have been omitted which could alone explain the course of development; and without them the discussion has a somewhat disconnected character. Besides this, the evangelist no longer distinguishes between the attitude of the multitude who (in their sense) believed, and those who stirred up opposition to Jesus. His representation would rather seem to indicate that it was exclusively members of the opposition who had had faith for a time, but who, whenever Jesus began to destroy their illusions, relapsed into their old enmity towards Him in a way that, psychologically, is scarcely credible; their animosity seems to have been so intense that Jesus is

God or the manner of its development, but by formulating more distinctly the demands which He had to make upon His followers. He was not satisfied with a following which only rested upon Him their hopes for the future. He demanded a constant and resigned hearing of His word, and, of course, obedience to the same. That alone could lead to a full comprehension of His appearance, and to a complete experience of the salvation which He brought (viii. 31 f.). It was in this connection that Jesus at last uttered the words which had so long been expected, and which, like the glowing spark, would surely kindle to a flame the ardent expectations of the nation. Freedom! It was for that the tortured people panted. Deliverance from the Roman yoke! that was indeed the greatest blessing the Messiah could accord, and it would be the proof of His being divinely commissioned. But when uttering these long-looked-for words, Jesus at the same time countermanded them. A freedom, attained to by recognition of the truth, was very different from the political liberty His hearers so ardently desired. The disappointment occasioned by this declaration was plainly the termination of this momentous dispute. It is incomprehensible how any one could suppose that the multitude denied having any desire for political freedom; Jesus had apparently not intended that, and yet in spite of the nominal liberty in regard to religious and civil questions, which the Romans granted the local authorities, the people were bitterly sensible of what they lacked. Precisely because Jesus indirectly refused to listen to their hopes of political freedom did they answer with a certain degree of irritation that they needed no other freedom than what was political. As free-born sons of Abraham they knew nothing of slavery. And indeed, in

repeatedly represented as referring to their murderous schemes, although the believing multitude certainly never had any plans of this kind in view. Any attempt to remove this difficulty by distinguishing between the different persons Jesus speaks to, is opposed to the evident meaning of the evangelist; and in this case, too, his combination and representation must be distinguished from the historical reminiscences which He had preserved. The apostle certainly does not intend to describe the details of the historical development, but the great fundamental truths which were then discussed; at the same time, we can perceive from the inequality of his narrative which are the reminiscences he selected, and from them we can still recognise with considerable certainty what the principal heads of these discussions were.

contradistinction to the nations of the Gentiles, slavery was of comparatively seldom occurrence in Israel, and was restricted by law as much as possible (comp. Lev. xxv.). Jesus therefore told them openly that what He meant was deliverance from the bondage of sin. This freedom was required by all who were still servants of sin, and not only by the slaves of vice (viii. 33 f.). In Jerusalem as in Galilee the difference in opinion was the same. Jesus was convinced that only an inward moral deliverance could lead the nation to the height of the promised Messianic salvation which they expected to result from political freedom.

In the same way as we have seen represented in the synoptic discourses, Jesus attempted through a parable to get the people to understand that the way by which He desired to guide them was the only right one. Their hope of attaining salvation was founded upon their connection with the economy of the Old Testament theocracy which Jehovah Himself had established. As descendants of Abraham they were children of this house, and as such they were to receive as their share of the paternal inheritance nothing less than the possession and the domination of the world (comp. Rom. iv. 13); though originally that could only mean that the religion which was founded in Israel should one day attract all other peoples. Jesus proceeded upon the assumption that in the paternal house only a son can command a permanent position which makes him participator in all the father's possessions, and that a slave may be thrust out at will and sold. The application was evident. If, by yielding themselves to sin, they had been brought into the unworthy position of bond-servants, they had by so doing forfeited the rights of the true members of the theocracy, and could no longer expect to participate in its supreme promises. When in Galilee, Jesus had threatened His hearers with exclusion from the blessings of the perfected kingdom of God (Luke xiii. 28), and this menace He repeated here. Only He who promised them deliverance from the bondage of sin could make them really free, and could restore to them the rights of true children of the theocracy,—rights which could not be taken from them by Roman dominion, but only by the power of sin (viii. 35 f.). There could be no deliverance, however, so long as His word found no proper

entrance, or was only productive of transient feeling and not of an effective appropriation (viii. 37).[1]

The fact of the multitude always advancing their descent from Abraham in answer to every question as to their claims upon the consummated theocracy, reminds one that even the Baptist had to destroy the consolation of Abrahamic descent with which people tried to escape from his preaching of repentance (Matt. iii. 9). Here, however, Jesus makes metaphorical use of the conception of sonship, just as He does in the synoptic accounts (Matt. v. 45, xxiii. 31); and He disputes the assertion that they are genuine children of the patriarch's; for if so, they would have proved their descent by the resemblance between their moral character and that of Abraham (viii. 39). There is no need for the reference to their hatred of truth and their murderous schemes with which the evangelist, anticipating subsequent events, explains this polemic (viii. 40); no proof was needed that this generation, which Jesus had characterized as evil and adulterous (Matt. xii. 39), was very unlike the devout patriarch. The Jews naturally decline to listen to this turn of the conception of sonship; and certainly if they had any legal claim to being of Abraham's line, it rested upon their actual descent from him. They protest against doubts being cast on this title of theirs, for that would stamp them as bastards: but if spiritual sonship was meant, then God was their Father, for had He not chosen Israel as His son? and this legal title would surely secure for them participation in the consummation of salvation. With unrelenting severity, however, Jesus destroys even this support of their hopes. The affectionate relation to God, described by the name of son and secured to them by election, would only be permanent if they manifested a reciprocal love to God. But love such as this would neces-

[1] It is quite in accordance with the manner of the later allegorizing application of Jesus' parables, which we find in the older Gospels, that by a figure borrowed from the parable itself Jesus is here represented as the only true Son of the house, and, as such, as having power and authority to grant liberty to the slaves (viii. 36). Even the way in which Jesus refers to their murderous schemes (viii. 37), so leading up in a very Johannine manner to the designation of them as children of the devil (viii. 38), all of which is repeated in viii. 40 f., belongs to the evangelist himself, and is manifestly founded upon his view of these discussions (comp. previous note).

sarily draw them to Him whom God had sent, and to the divine word which the Messenger brought; and this love they had not exhibited. It was now evident that the unreliable attachment of the people to Jesus was caused not by an attraction to God and His Ambassador, but by the hope of seeing their temporal desires fulfilled. They had misunderstood His announcement of salvation, because they would not listen to the truth He told them—the simple truth, that they could not participate in the consummation of the kingdom of God unless they were delivered from the bondage of sin (viii. 41–43).

With these words Jesus touched the point where His way and theirs divided. They refused to believe on Him, not in spite of His speaking the truth, but precisely because He did so. Did they think themselves justified in questioning what He said of their sin and the destruction to which it was leading them? Jesus could boldly call upon them to say whether they had any reason whatever for mistrusting His utterances, or whether they could unmask Him by alleging that He had led the people astray. He could Himself appeal to the spotlessness of His whole life, which even the hatred of His enemies dared not touch. When He openly proclaimed what He had to say to them in God's name, could they deny the truth of it? And if, in spite of this, they did not believe the truth, they could not be children of God, as they imagined they were, but only children of him whom they resembled—children of the devil, whose very nature is hatred of the truth (viii. 45–47).[1] But even when the strife was sharpest it must have been the incitements of His opponents which caused Jesus' former adherents, whom the evangelist

[1] The prosecution in viii. 47 of the idea of sonship to God is quite according to Johannine doctrinal views, although in disputing the claim of the people to this it rests upon another meaning than was required by Jesus' supposition of their connection with the devil. This passage cannot form the height of the polemic; that must be sought for in the denunciation of the multitude on account of their likeness to the devil, which is prepared for by the evangelist in viii. 38, 41, and in viii. 44 is carried out dogmatically in true Johannine style (comp. 1 John iii. 12). But even the twofold characteristic of the nature of the devil, which is given here, cannot well be original, for the mention of his passion for murder is only induced by the repeated reference to the murderous schemes of the hierarchy (comp. vv. 37, 40), which Jesus discusses in a way corresponding to John's setting of the conversation (comp. p. 181, note).

now describes in the same terms as he usually devotes to the hostile hierarchy (viii. 48), to break forth into vulgar abuse; these insults are clearly authentic, for they refer to reproaches currently believed in, which John has not previously mentioned. They call Him a Samaritan, because by offering such indignities to the nation He has put it on a level with its hereditary enemies; and they reproach Him with being possessed by a devil, because only mad pride can cause Him to revile like that. With lofty calmness Jesus repels their insinuations. He cannot be possessed by a spirit inimical to God, for does He not give God the honour? They insult Him; but He has no need to protect Himself. That is done by God when He connects the salvation of the nation with Jesus' proclamation, and makes the eternal salvation or destruction of each individual dependent upon his attitude towards the divine message (viii. 48–51).

According to the evangelist's account, it was the Jews who reproached Jesus with exalting Himself above Abraham and the prophets, because He had assumed that His word could effect a deliverance from death to which even these great men had not attained (viii. 52 f.), though perhaps this construction shows a suspicious similarity to other passages (comp. iv. 12). But whether it was Jesus or the people who first raised the subject, we can easily understand how a disputation, which commenced by discussing the hopes they founded upon their descent from Abraham, finished by declaring that even if they possessed everything which had been Abraham's, they were not yet possessors of complete salvation. Jesus could therefore point out once more that God, who has made Him Mediator of this highest salvation, will bestow on Him sufficient honour, so that there is no need for any vainglory. Surely they must acknowledge the credentials, for He whom they call their God has Himself drawn them up. Jesus even indicates that their pretence of inability to understand how He perceives this is absolutely untrue; and, moreover, the patriarch himself acknowledged this high dignity. He rejoiced in prospect of the day of Jesus' appearance, and now, though in Sheol, he rejoices at the fulfilment of all his hopes (viii. 54–56), for he still takes the greatest interest in the nation's fate (comp. Mark xii. 26 f.). These

utterances are received with scorn. The Jews mock at Him who, not having yet seen half a century, pretends to have seen Abraham; and like so many present-day expounders, they apprehend His words to mean that He had appeared with Abraham during his life on earth. But Jesus, transported by the greatness of the moment which decides His fate in the capital, for the first time tells His adversaries openly what He had hitherto pondered in the depths of His self-consciousness. They were to know that His appearance, which had its origin in eternity, was not to be measured according to the standards of a human existence subject to the limitations of time: "Before Abraham was, I am" (viii. 57 f.).[1]

It was in consequence of these words that the Jews took up stones to kill the blasphemous offender. But Jesus' hour was not yet come, and once more He was protected by His Father's hand. He hid Himself in the crowd and escaped from His persecutors (viii. 59). But now that Jesus had so irrevocably roused the hostility of the people, the Sanhedrim could carry its designs into effect; and it was resolved that all who openly acknowledged Him to be the Messiah were to be put under the ban, *i.e.* they were to be excluded for a time from the synagogue worship (ix. 22). It may be regarded as uncertain whether this was a decision by the Council, or only an agreement come to by the leaders of the party, which was made a decree on the first occasion. In any case, the evangelist gives us a detailed account of a case in which this excommunication was carried out, in order to show (chap. ix.) how this terrorism failed in attaining the end Jesus' opponents had in view—that of frightening His adherents

[1] It is quite useless to try and reduce this important utterance to a mere reference to the divine decree which, long before the coming of Abraham, had had Jesus' appearance in view. This is contradicted not merely by the purport of the words, for they might have been remodelled by John in accordance with his view of Christ; it is the necessary consequence of these remarks. What is said as to Abraham's joy having been manifested presupposes that divine decree, for the view that in consequence of the promise which God had given him, Abraham hoped for the Messiah, was a result of the Messianic interpretation of the Old Testament current at that time. The Jews could not regard this as blasphemy; that charge could only apply to a statement as to His own person, in which, by referring to His original being, Jesus seemed to put Himself on an equality with God.

from their allegiance to Him. It is evident that the crisis, which had affected the greater number of His followers, had resulted in His true disciples becoming more conscious of their real position. It must have been in consequence of this catastrophe that Jesus quitted the capital, where a continuation of His ministry was impossible; and it seems as if He did not reappear in Jerusalem until shortly before the feast of the Dedication of the Temple. What brought Him back again, we do not know. It is here that the evangelist in his eclectic way introduces a narrative to show how Jesus was victorious even in conflicts concerning His followers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MAN BORN BLIND.

JESUS had no intention of entering upon a ministry of healing at Jerusalem on the occasion of this visit. The evangelist emphasizes the fact that it was in passing by Jesus had His attention called to a blind beggar, who told how he had been deprived of sight from infancy. The man's sad fate roused the disciples' sympathy, and led to their discussing with Jesus how such a great misfortune was to be explained. The teaching of the Old Testament is that evil is the result or the punishment of sin. But how could such a doctrine be applied to the case in question? Could it be that the sins of the parents had been visited upon their child? (comp. Ex. xx. 5). Or was he bearing his own guilt? And yet how was this possible, since he had been born blind? It was the old problem of the Book of Job which the disciples had here before their eyes. Jesus had not come to discuss theological questions, but through His appearance actually to solve the darkest enigma connected with the divine government of the world. His answer to the disciples' question could only be that God had given Him power to show how even the severest form of suffering can become in God's hands the means of dispensing the most abundant blessings. He pointed out that it is not seeming on such occasions to ask what God's purpose can be; we should rather inquire what it is He thereby calls us to perform. This incident was therefore an admonition to Jesus that the short time still remaining to Him must be employed for the salvation of men, and that in spite of everything which would hinder Him from developing His ministry in Jerusalem, the time for working there had come at last. He had already opened the eyes of many blind, and did not this heavy visitation give Him an opportunity of amply compensating the unhappy man for all he had suffered

by a blessed experience of divine aid? Might not the bodily benefit now accorded him be the means of opening his eyes to that salvation which had appeared in Jesus (John ix. 1–5).[1]

The Church Fathers used to take pleasure in showing how Jesus followed the course of the first creation when He created eyeballs from the dust of the ground, and bestowed them upon the blind man. But of course this offensive idea is equally contradicted by the meaning and the purport of the narrative. Only an absolutely divine miracle can give sight to one born blind; but that does not preclude the possibility that in a case where, according to God's good counsel, this was to happen, the physiological conditions for it were not awanting, and that through a miraculous operation, the want was made good, or the hindrance removed which had hitherto prevented the exercise of the power of vision. It is evident that the miraculous operation only introduced a natural process of healing, for Jesus spread over the blind man's eyes a salve composed of saliva and earth, and the cure was not completed until he had washed in the pool of Siloam (ix. 6 f.; comp. vol. ii. p. 97 f.).[2]

Jesus had not been in the habit of working miracles in

[1] In accordance with his particular view of Jesus' miracles (vol. ii. p. 103, note), the evangelist regards the cure of the blind man as a symbolic representation of that great work of God's which was the purpose of Jesus' coming —the illumination of the world by the perfected revelation of God (ix. 3, 5). This idea was certainly not under consideration in that conversation between Jesus and His followers, but still it is evident that it had at least a point of connection in Jesus' words.

[2] Criticism exercises itself vainly in trying to prove that this is only a superlative of the synoptic cures of the blind, for that is impossible if it is regarded as a miracle (comp. vol. i. p. 185, note); the impression is surely only weakened by the intermixture of natural means, even when these are looked upon as having been mystical or magical manipulations. We see clearly that the name of the pool was historical, though a somewhat favourite exposition says that John regarded the name as referring to the fact that it, like a second ambassador from God, should complete the act of the first (ix. 7). The attempts to demonstrate a fictional tendency proceed at one time upon the symbolical character of the miracle, at another upon the confirmation afforded of Jesus' desecration of the Sabbath, and yet again upon the importance attaching to the incident because of the results which followed. All these endeavours show that no palpable doctrinal tendency has been imprinted upon the account of this occurrence, and besides, the evangelists only regarded it as important by reason of the dissensions it gave rise to.

Jerusalem, and therefore this cure caused great excitement. The man's acquaintances would not believe what had happened, and were inclined to doubt his identity until he himself gave a detailed account of the occurrence. Then there was another cause of offence. It was on a Sabbath that Jesus had effected this cure, and the means He employed were, according to the views of the time, a flagrant desecration of the day. The great miracle-worker was not on the spot; no one knew where He was to be found, so that it was impossible to ask how He could justify Himself. It is not necessary to assume that there was any ill-will among the people, but the fact that they considered it needful to bring the affair before the notice of the Pharisees shows how servilely dependent they were upon those authorities of theirs who were also the guardians of the law. To these the man had again to relate his story; and even they were for a moment undecided as to the position to be taken up in regard to it. It seemed evident that a breaker of the Sabbath could be no messenger from God, and yet what explanation could be given of such a miracle, for surely God would not bestow miraculous power upon a sinner? The man himself still declared that his benefactor must be a prophet whom God, by miracles such as these, approved as His messenger. The matter finally came before the hierarchy. The members of that body were at once disposed to call the whole affair a concerted deception. In order to prove this, they began by making inquiry of the man's parents. These acknowledged that he was their son, and had been born blind; but they cunningly avoided giving any opinion as to the manner of the cure, in order not to compromise themselves, and pointed to the fact of their son being of full age to speak for himself. Now began a formal examination of the man who had been cured. The hierarchs endeavoured to prescribe to him by saying that every one knew this Man to be a deceiver, and they commanded him to confess the truth for the honour of God. He whom they were examining, however, refused to pronounce any opinion upon Jesus, and simply appealed to the fact of his own cure. And when they once more made inquiry as to the whole circumstances, in the hope that he would contradict himself, or somehow give them a pretext for denying the fact, the man, irritated by these end-

less interrogations, asked sneeringly whether they too wished to become disciples. Upon this the priests overwhelmed him with insults: He is surely a follower of this man of whom no one knew from whence he came, but they are followers of Moses, with whom God Himself had spoken. This arrogant adjudication roused to opposition the man's sense of truth, and he replied that it was little marvel they were ignorant of Jesus' antecedents: God cannot listen to a sinner, and He can only give His own Messenger power to work such an unprecedented miracle as the restoring of sight to a man born blind. With an odious reference to his innate defect, they asked whether he, a man born in sin, intended to instruct them; and then they excommunicated him (ix. 8–34).[1]

It is quite evident what it was that led the evangelist to repeat these discussions with such unusual detail. He had already shown how Jesus hitherto had always come off victorious from the assaults of His adversaries. The struggle is now transferred to other ground. The enemies of Jesus felt that it was necessary to take immediate steps for destroying the attachment to Him, which had been called forth afresh by the impression made by this great miracle; but they only succeeded in showing their own impotence. With all their inquisitorial terrorism, the priests, so far from attaining their ends, drove the man into active opposition, and forced him to take a more decided stand for Jesus. One

[1] We can easily understand how, if this were perhaps the first occasion in which the resolution spoken of in ix. 22 was carried into effect, it would be much discussed and fully recounted. Perhaps John may have had a minute acquaintance with all that happened, for the man himself became afterwards a follower of Jesus. It is evident, besides, that the description of the details was a literary matter dependent upon the author, for it makes no claim to any special exactitude. It would not be strange, therefore, if some more or less improbable traits were occasionally to be found in it; but that all are of this character can scarcely be proved, and there can be no doubt as to the whole account being true to nature. Baur regarded this narrative as nothing but a didactic representation of how all the attempts of unbelief to deny the miraculous must go to pieces on the objective reality of these deeds, and are involved in inconceivable contradictions. Strauss looked upon it as an attempt to demonstrate with anxious exactitude the truth of the (fictional) state of matters. Other expounders hold to the allegorical signification of the whole account, which is said to be explicable only from the closing scene. It only needs the enumeration of these attempts to show what insurmountable difficulties are started if it is assumed that this description is a purely ideal composition.

more step, and they have driven into Jesus' arms the man they excommunicated. It was manifestly the divine purpose that this sufferer should find not only temporal, but also spiritual healing; and this intention they only furthered by their impious conduct. Jesus heard of what had happened, and on meeting the man again He asks him whether he believes in the Messiah of Israel. With the greatest simplicity the man expresses his readiness to believe whenever he knew who He was. Jesus makes Himself known; and at Jesus' feet the man learns to know how that which had seemed the curse of his life was become his greatest blessing. In this incident Jesus saw confirmation of what He had said in Galilee as to the babes of the nation, to whom, in contradistinction to the highly cultured, the truth is known (Matt. xi. 25). The blind man had received both bodily and spiritual sight, not although, but because he did belong to the common people, who were not prejudiced against divine truth by the perverted culture of their time. But the leaders of the people, although so well equipped for ascertaining the truth, were debarred by their prejudice against Jesus from perceiving the most palpable facts, and therefore continued unbelieving (John ix. 35–39).

This contention seems to have been begun by the Pharisees. They protest against Jesus reckoning them—the spiritual guides of the people—with the blind, who must receive sight through Him. Jesus answers them by saying: If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but now ye say, We see; your sin remaineth (ix. 40 f.). It was the darkness of their knowledge which closed their eyes so completely and permanently. Even in the synoptic Gospels Jesus had described the popular teachers as blind leaders of the blind (Matt. xv. 14; comp. xxiii. 16, 24); and we must suppose that in connection with the story of this man He spoke of their misguidance of the people, which would some day involve the nation in ruin. Quite in the synoptic way He related two parables, the material of which was taken from the pastoral life so often made use of in prophetic metaphors. The original form is still unmistakeable, although the evangelist, after the manner of his time, had interwoven some explanations and elucidations of his own.

The first parable transplants us into a sheepfold surrounded by high walls; several flocks have been put into it for the night, and an under shepherd keeps watch at the door. When the shepherd himself comes, the watcher opens to him, and he calls his own sheep by name; they follow him willingly, because they know his voice. But if a robber should climb the wall and try to allure them, they fly from him, for they know not his voice (John x. 1–5). The priests could not understand this parable without seeing a picture of themselves in what was said about the robber (x. 6). It therefore seems as if Jesus—as the Synoptists often represent Him as doing—added a word of explanation which pointed to the leaders of the people distinctly, though perhaps not so unequivocally as is done here. The thief and robber only comes in order to steal the sheep and destroy them, and the heads of the people sacrifice the true welfare of their charge for their own selfish interests; they are not leaders, but deceivers of the people. But the story of the man born blind had shown that they were not obeyed by true subjects of God's kingdom, and the same thing was manifest from the lives of all true followers of Jesus (x. 8, 10).[1] The parable is also intended to show that such a proceeding is quite regular, in so far as it only corresponds to the ordinary arrangements of pastoral existence. But it is certainly the evangelist who contrasts the thief and robber with Jesus the true shepherd (x. 9 f.), for he illustrates the subject by the reverse of what has just been said, just as in the synoptic parables the principal metaphor is generally elucidated by an antitype (comp. vol. ii. p. 119).

It is only in the second parable that the true shepherd is

[1] We find here elucidations by the evangelist, which are not authorized, for he begins by explaining what the door of the fold means, and he makes it refer to Christ, partly because He alone can bestow the capacity for guiding the sheep aright (x. 7),—a subject which is not under discussion,—and partly because He alone can lead the flock to the right pasture (x. 9). In both cases the sheep are the disciples of Jesus, while according to the original meaning (x. 8) the figure referred to the true members of the theocratic congregation. This interpretation leaves no room for any reference to the popular leaders of the Old Testament times, it only points to the leaders whom Jesus knew in His own time. It is possible, however, that He may have made use of a somewhat ambiguous expression, for He could not yet (Matt. xxiii.) directly assail the chiefs of the people without making His position in Jerusalem untenable.

the principal figure; he is raised to that position by the antitype of the hireling, although we are not intended to attach any meaning to the latter. The scene of this parable is the open field. A wolf is approaching to attack the flock, and the hired servant escapes in time to save his own life. What cares he for the sheep which the wolf is destroying? The good shepherd, however, loving what is his own, faces the wild beast courageously; he puts his own life at stake that the sheep may be enabled to escape (x. 11–13). The evangelist's explanation (x. 14 f.; comp. x. 11) was really not needed in order to understand the application which Jesus had in view when giving this parable; it is quite clear from the whole situation. Had not Jesus again ventured to the chief seat of His enemies in order to rescue what was yet possible of God's ancient people? And had He not warned them in the foregoing parable of the true character of those who were leading them astray, although He knew that by such utterances He was inciting a hatred that must cost Him His life?

But even Jesus indirectly referred this parable to Himself. It was in this very connection that a future was presented to His view, which could only prepare the way for His death; and in the parable He describes Himself as the Great Shepherd of the sheep who shall ultimately gather together all who will follow him. Outside the fold of the Israelitish theocracy in which Jehovah collects His people, Jesus has sheep who belong to Him, because they are sincerely prepared to accept His salvation. These are the receptive souls in the outside world of the Gentiles. He cannot yet accept them, for in God's good counsel His earthly labours must be exclusively devoted to Israel. But when the hatred of His enemies shall release Him from the limitations of this finite existence, and He enters upon a higher life and a more extensive ministry, they too will be summoned by the shepherd's voice; and there shall be one flock and one shepherd (x. 16). It was when referring to His death that Jesus disclosed the last secret of the divine love to Him. That death of His was only to be the entrance to glory, for He would receive back at the resurrection the life He had voluntarily sacrificed. No power on earth could take that life from Him if the Father,

to whom it entirely belonged, did not enable Him to sacrifice it in obedience to the divine will. But it was also the Father's will that He should receive that life back at the resurrection, and in a new and glorious existence should bring the work to a conclusion of which He could now only lay the foundation-stone (10, 17 f.).

What Jesus now said to a large number of auditors was only what he had told His disciples long ago (comp. Book v. chap. vii.). The nearer the time approached, and the more inevitable the conclusion became of which He had spoken at Cæsarea Philippi, the more frankly could He speak of what was coming. Even the disciples had not hitherto understood His meaning; and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests in particular, His words seemed like those of a madman. And yet there were some who held that an act like the cure of the blind man had at least not the appearance of being prompted by an evil spirit (x. 19–21).

CHAPTER V.

REST AFTER CONFLICT.

IT was the month of December. The feast of the Dedication was being celebrated at Jerusalem as a memorial of the second consecration of the temple by Judas Maccabæus, after its desecration by the abominations of heathen idolatry. The way in which the evangelist mentions this undoubtedly assumes that Jesus was either still in the city or had returned to it; indeed it almost seems as if the commencement of the feast had followed directly upon the events just related. The evangelist even remembers the exact place where Jesus was to be met with. It was a pillared hall on the eastern side of the temple, which had formed part of the building erected by Solomon, and had survived the destruction effected by the Chaldæans (John x. 22 f.). At a later date we find the apostles addressing the crowds which surround them in this same "porch of Solomon" (Acts iii. 11). It was here that the hierarchy made its last attacks upon Jesus, and endeavoured to incite a fresh storm of fanaticism against Him.

From the first the whole scene has something decidedly hostile about it. A crowd collects round Jesus and demands a candid declaration as to whether He is the Messiah or not. He has kept them long enough in suspense (x. 24). The purpose of this interpellation was not far to seek. They had no intention of forcing Him into the paths of a political Messiahship, nor did they at all believe that He purposed to yield to the popular expectations. All that they wanted was to provoke Him to an incautious declaration, on the ground of which it might be possible to proceed against Him juridically, or else to force Him to break distinctly with the popular Messianic hopes, so that He should lose in consequence any lingering

sympathy the populace still had for Him.[1] But even on this occasion Jesus avoids making any distinct declaration; for it is no business of His to dispute with them regarding His opinion of their Messianic conceptions. He simply appeals to His earlier statements, which they had not believed, and to the results of His ministry, although indeed it had had no effect on them. But yet success had not been absolutely awanting. It is quite in accordance with the character of this evangelist, who always gathers a reference to the individual from the words of Jesus, that he represents Jesus as pointing to the individuals, whom He had won to faith, as proofs of His success. It is probable that, as a matter of fact, Jesus rather spoke of its being quite evident who He was from the way in which He had established the kingdom of God and carried through the execution of what He had undertaken in spite of all opposition. But the point of His answer consisted in the appeal to God's opinion of His successes. Only the power of God, which was able to vanquish all resistance, could give Him such results: and this was at the same time the proof that in Him God Himself had come to His people, to bring about the fulfilment of His decrees of salvation, and prepare the nation for the final consummation (vv. 25–30).[2]

Such utterances were certain to rouse His opponents. Listen to the blasphemer who makes himself equal with God, was the cry! And then the mob, excited to fanaticism by the priests, took up stones to throw at Him (x. 31; comp. ver. 33). On this occasion Jesus bade defiance to the storm, He desired to show that He was not to be got the better of in this way. His destiny was

[1] We see from this how arbitrary an assumption it is to suppose that the fourth evangelist represents Jesus as confessing His Messiahship much more directly than the Synoptists do. John clearly assumes here that Jesus had hitherto never directly proclaimed Himself Messiah.

[2] There is no doubt that this answer has a strong Johannine colouring. This is particularly apparent in the connection with the parable of the last scene (x. 26 f.), as well as in the scarcely mistakeable reference to the unsuccessful attempts of the priests to take from Jesus the man who was born blind (x. 28). No doubt the supposition is entirely incorrect, that the last scene occurred at the feast of Tabernacles, so that Jesus was looking back upon discussions which had taken place more than two months previously; but it is nevertheless quite apparent that this connection is a literary matter. On the other hand, the current allegorizing exposition only succeeds in obscuring the palpable authenti-

in a higher hand, and had been decided by the counsel of God; it could not be that He should perish under the stones of an excited mob. And as a matter of fact He succeeded at last in quieting the multitude by reminding them of the cures He had performed. The giving of sight to the man born blind was probably not the only act of His saving power which had been witnessed in Jerusalem, and His renown as a great benefactor had preceded Him long before He entered the capital. Not without irony does He ask for which of these benefits do they wish to stone Him; He Himself is only conscious of having done them good—of having performed what His Father gave Him to do. He knew of course what the answer would be; He would be told that His own words had raised this storm. All that He wanted, however, was to gain a hearing so as to put Himself on common ground with His opponents—on that of the incontestable authority of Scripture, and proceeding from that to show how little the reproach of blasphemy could be substantiated. He took a passage from one of the psalms in which, in accordance with the Old Testament view, which regarded them as representatives of God Himself, persons in authority are designated gods (Ps. lxxxii. 6). In an incomparably higher sense, however, He felt Himself to be God's representative—that highest organ through which Jehovah executes His purposes of salvation. He was not only consecrated and commissioned by God like all other prophets, but in His baptism the Father Himself had consecrated Him the Messiah who was to fulfil all the promises made to the nation, and had sent Him as the Son who was to undertake a unique vocation among the people.

city of Jesus' answer. Even according to the evangelist's own view there is no mention in chap. x. 30 of a similarity of nature, in a trinitarian sense, between the Father and the Son, as is clearly shown by the elucidation which John represents Jesus as afterwards giving, quite in his own didactic way; nor is any mention made of an equality of power which would have rendered any progress of thought impossible. All that is said there is that the Chosen of Jehovah, whom even the Old Testament calls His Son, is the unique organ through whom God executes His final purposes of salvation, and whose every action is therefore done in His Father's power. The idea that in the Messiah, in this sense, God Himself comes to His people, is current in prophetic prediction (Mal. iii. 1), without there being the slightest assumption of a metaphysical determination of being. From the standpoint of Jesus' adversaries even this involved a blasphemous assumption of divine prerogatives.

In view of that quotation from Scripture, how could any one accuse Him of blasphemy when He called Himself the Son of God and deduced all the consequences of His unique relation to God? (x. 32–36).

No demonstration is needed that this is not an elaboration of the great Logos philosophy of the second century; it is only an argument from Scripture, which had a meaning from the historical conditions of Jesus' time. Here we find ourselves face to face with the Christ of the Synoptists. Indeed, we are strangely reminded by this argumentation of some well-known words of Jesus given in the older Gospels, which might almost as well have been spoken in this connection. Mark is undoubtedly right in transferring them to the period of Jesus' last struggles with His adversaries, although he gives no particulars as to their connection there. He only mentions that while teaching in the temple Jesus started the question how the scribes could regard the Messiah as a son of David, and therefore as his successor upon the throne (Mark xii. 35 f.).[1] Jesus had referred to a psalm which tradition designates Davidic, and in which David, filled with the Holy Spirit, describes Jehovah summoning the Messiah to participate in the government of the world; He is to rule as representative of God over the Messianic kingdom, which is to embrace all peoples, and therefore David addresses Him, equally with Jehovah, by the title of Lord (Ps. cx. 1). This is exactly the same course of thought as we find in the dialogue given in John, only here it is a vindication of the Messiah assuming such a title, because He is God's representative, without its being expressly made to refer to Jesus. The statement is,

[1] There is no doubt that the way in which the first evangelist represents Jesus as closing the mouths of the Pharisees with this question, and so condemning them to a shamefaced silence (Matt. xxii. 41–46), was neither intended by Jesus, nor did it so appear in the oldest account. It has lately been conjectured that Jesus intended to destroy the expectation of a Messiah from the house of David, either because He Himself was not a scion of that house, or because this fact had been employed as an argument against His Messiahship. But the Davidic descent of the Messiah was no mere precept of the scribes; it was an undoubted assumption of the prophets of the Old Testament, although sometimes not expressed directly. Moreover, Jesus' argument from the Scriptures proved nothing against this descent, for there is no reason why a descendant of David should not rise higher than his ancestor, and in agreement with that why David should not address him according to his position.

however, remarkable for the manner in which this dignity of the Messiah is contrasted with the common idea of His being a descendant of David. According to Mark, Jesus Himself elucidates the subject under discussion; He asks if David himself called Him Lord, whence is He his son? (Mark xii. 37). To this question the scribes cannot give an answer; for a mere descendant of David can never attain to this unique dignity.[1] The simple solution of the question must be sought for in the fact that the Messiah has no specific dignity because of His being a descendant of David, but He descends from David in accordance with the promise, for He is chosen by God to that unique dignity without which He cannot bring about the consummation of salvation. This is no dialectic trifling, it was a difference of eminent importance. So long as the Davidic descent of the Messiah was made the starting-point, the ascension of David's throne, in the sense of the political expectations, was the indispensable condition for the fulfilment of His vocation. But if it was once acknowledged that as simply belonging to David's line He had no claim to that unique dignity, then it was plainly a matter of indifference for the attainment of that end whether He ever ascended the throne of His fathers as popular expectation expected Him to do.

This argument from Scripture was closely connected with the disputation in question, but it was also directed against the popular expectation that to attain to the full dignity of Messiah, Jesus must re-establish David's earthly kingdom. And, therefore, although connected with the doctrine of the scribes, it was

[1] The solution of this question is plainly not to be sought where the first evangelist has looked for it, viz. in the fact that the Messiah is not only the son of David, but also the Son of God. This explanation occurred to him, because the controversy between the believing and the unbelieving Jews turned upon the question whether Jesus of Nazareth, who undoubtedly belonged to David's line, was the Son of God, *i.e.* the Messiah. But the question which Jesus propounded did not treat of His person, it referred to the promised Messiah of whom, according to the Old Testament, it was equally certain that He was the son of David as that he was the Son of God (Ps. ii. 7). In the present day we frequently insert in this name of Messiah our knowledge of His original divine nature, or even the dogmatic idea of an eternal generation from God; but to do this is to overlook the fact that that is not involved in the Old Testament name of Son of God, which alone was the subject of conversation.

essentially intended for the people who were guided by their teaching. At this point, however, the discussion principally turned upon the reproach of blasphemy which the hierarchy had raised against Jesus. It is difficult to recognise in what form Jesus renewed these statements, for in this passage there is a stronger element than usual of Johannine language and doctrine (John x. 37 f.); but there is no doubt that He maintained them by referring to the whole extent of His ministry. His adversaries were again disarmed, and they now perceived that He could not be proceeded against by tumultuous methods. But the dispute had already been concentrated on the question whether His claim to the Messiahship involved blasphemy, and now at last the word had been spoken which could be employed as a reason for proceeding against Him (Mark xiv. 63 f.). But a formal arrest and a legal process were necessary. Willingly would Jesus' enemies have proceeded to these at once, but He escaped from their hands and quitted the capital for a time (x. 39).

There was still one district of the Holy Land where Jesus could labour—the territory beyond Jordan. There, where John the Baptist had lived so long, recollection of him was still lively, and Jesus might connect His instructions with him and with his references to the Messiah. When there He could again be the Messiah of Galilee, who went about teaching and healing, and could anew devote Himself to the disciples. These two or three months in Perea were the last time of refreshment He would enjoy before being involved in struggle and death. In Perea there could be no disputations with the Pharisees and the hierarchy, no tumultuous popular agitations; in a populace well prepared by the Baptist, Jesus sowed the seeds of the kingdom of God, and many believed on Him (x. 40–42).

In the counsel of God, this time of rest was to terminate otherwise than He expected.

CHAPTER VI.

BETHANY.

ONE of the sources of Luke's Gospel tells of two sisters from whom Jesus on one occasion received hospitality. Martha, apparently the acting housekeeper, was busily employed in testifying her love to the highly honoured guest by her reception and entertainment of Him; she complained to Jesus that her sister, who preferred to sit still at His feet and listen to His words, gave her no assistance whatever. But Jesus declined to urge her, and He indicated that there was no necessity for the care and trouble to which Martha was putting herself, for only one thing was needful. Mary had chosen that good part, and He would not permit it to be taken from her (Luke x. 38–42). He had not come to be ministered unto, but to minister (Mark x. 45), and the attentive hearing of His word was dearer to Him—because more necessary to His followers—than their most zealous service of love could be.[1]

The tradition which Luke follows did not know the name of the place where the sisters dwelt; but it is evident from the connection in which he inserts the narrative, that he supposed it to be beyond the boundaries of Galilee. According to John, the place was called Bethany, and lay fifteen stadia, or about two miles, distant from Jerusalem (John xi. 1, 18). Opposite

[1] Alarmed by the senseless interpretations given to this by the older Rationalism, which believes that Jesus declares one judgment to be sufficient, textual criticism has hitherto overlooked the ingenious play upon words lying in the best certified reading, which, on account of its very difficulties, is indubitably original. Little was necessary for him, says Jesus (John x. 42), or rather, only one thing was needful for those to whom He had come,—undivided submission to His word. The modern "Tendenz" criticism regards this as a fiction which is intended to contrast the Pauline requirement of faith with the Judaistic justification by works; and it has failed to see that a service of love, done unto Christ, is not law work.

the two principal hills on which the holy city is built, and separated from them by the sharply dividing valley of Kedron, arises the Mount of Olives, which at that time was probably thickly covered with olive and other fruit trees. The road northwards from Jerusalem to Jericho passes through a deep ravine, and on this road lies the village of Bethany (now El Azarijeh), situated on the eastern side of the mountain, which hides the city of Jerusalem from the view. There, according to the synoptic tradition, Jesus passed the night during His last visit to the feast (Mark xi. 11 f.), and it was there the meal took place at which He was anointed (Mark xiv. 3); but He must have had earlier ties in Bethany, for it was from it that He arranged His entry into Jerusalem (Mark xi. 1 f.). And so also the visit to the two sisters, of which Luke relates, must have taken place during one of Jesus' earlier visits to the feast.[1] Perhaps it was then that the bond with the two sisters was cemented, which, according to John, was so close that they not only know of Jesus' temporary abode, but when Lazarus falls dangerously ill they cause Jesus to be informed of it, in the firm conviction that He will immediately hasten to their aid. As formerly at the marriage of Cana (John ii. 3 f.), Jesus saw in this request a sign that God would manifest His glory in Him; whether it was to be by a miraculous act of healing, or by the raising of the dead to life, He did not know. One thing only He was sure of, it could not be the intention of God that Lazarus should die, for He would never refuse His mighty aid to the faith of the sisters; and He sent them a message to this effect (John xi. 3 f.).

We do not know what the distance was between the region of Perea, in which Jesus was tarrying, and the dwelling-

[1] The modern criticism, which believes that the fourth evangelist only elaborated synoptic material, holds that he has transferred the two sisters of Luke's Gospel to the Bethany of Mark's, and it identifies Mary with the woman who anointed Jesus there. But apart from the fact that there is not the smallest ground for this combination, since in the synoptic description of this meal no mention is made of two women, the wording of John's Gospel contradicts it most emphatically. Here Bethany is specified as the dwelling-place of the two sisters, and Mary is described as the woman who anointed Jesus (John xi. 1 f.) before John himself relates the circumstance of the anointing. From this it is undeniably clear, that in the circle for which the evangelist wrote Bethany was known as the home of the sisters, and Mary as the heroine of the anointing incident.

place of Martha and Mary. But the confidence with which they rely on His appearing at the right time seems to indicate that they could reach Him in a day's journey. Soon after the departure of the messenger Lazarus must have died, and been immediately laid in the grave, as Jewish custom was (comp. xi. 17). The message from Jesus must therefore have been incomprehensible to the sisters, unless they had attained to belief in their brother's resurrection from the dead. In the meantime Jesus was still sojourning quietly in Perea. All this is completely meaningless, considered from the general point of view, which regards Him as having had the power of working miracles at will. We justly set aside the supposition, revolting to every healthy sensibility, that Jesus would allow His friend to die in order to prove the faith of the sisters, and then to change their grief into greater joy, or perhaps in order to reveal His glory more gloriously. According to Jesus' own declaration, even if He had hastened at once to Bethany, He would not have found His friend alive. But according to the usual idea no such journey was necessary; He had only to send home the messenger, like the centurion at Capernaum, with the assurance that he would find the sick man recovered. That a call to urgent business detained Him in Perea—apart from not being mentioned in the context—is no solution of the difficulty, for the glory of God was surely the chief end of His life, and to it the curing of His friend would have contributed. But we know that Jesus could not always help when urged to do so by a natural human desire; He was obliged to wait for His Father's bidding. But in this case He had a twofold reason for waiting. In accordance with His Father's will He had left the capital, where His life was in the utmost danger; and that life which was dedicated to the fulfilment of His sacred mission He dared not risk for friendship's sake. It was a sacrifice to His calling of His heart's most ardent desires, when after receiving the message He remained quietly for two days in the same place (John xi. 5 f.).

At last the time came when He could depart, and then He would no longer allow Himself to be detained by the disciples, who called His attention to the dangers which threatened Him in Judea. He knew that His life was in

God's hands, and that the specified time of His work on earth must run its course like the appointed hours of a day, so long as He walked in the ways of God. Only after He had repelled the interference of the disciples was it supernaturally given Him to know how matters stood with His friend, and what was appointed for Him to do. The disciples did not understand what He meant when He spoke of going to awaken the sleeper, especially as from His words to the messenger, and from His delay in setting out, they had believed that the case was not serious. In their zeal to detain Him they declared that when once that healthful sleep had commenced, which proclaims the crisis, His going was not necessary. But now He told them plainly that His friend was dead, and that He rejoiced at the divine decree which ordained Him to awaken Lazarus, and thereby strengthen their faith. It was a beautiful sign of his devoted love to Jesus when Thomas, who could not free himself from a dark foreboding, said to his fellow-disciples: "Let us go with Him, that we may die with Him." They set out on their journey; and when they reached Bethany, the dead man had already lain four days in his grave (John xi. 7–17).[1]

The home of the two sisters was evidently a comfortable one; living near the gates of Jerusalem, they had numerous acquaintances within the city, and some even among the priests. The intimate friendship of the inmates with Jesus

[1] Criticism regards this as a description of an imaginary raising from the dead, which is said to surpass the descriptions of such incidents given by the Synoptists, partly because the body had already lain four days in the grave, and partly owing to the touching affection of the two sisters. We are also told that the evangelist chose the Lazarus of Luke's parable in order to verify the saying, that the Jews would not believe even if Lazarus were raised from the dead (Luke xvi. 31). But however credible it may be that the name Lazarus has crept from this narrative into the parable,—for names were not usually mentioned in parables (vol. ii. p. 251, note),—it is still inconceivable how the loathsome beggar could be imagined as residing in the comfortable home of the sisters in Bethany. It is said that, according to the tradition of the Synoptists, these sisters were not bound by any tie of tender friendship to Jesus, and their house, it is alleged, was located at Bethany by the evangelist himself (see previous note) in order to assure to the event its important consequences. According to this hypothesis, therefore, the two days' delay obliged Jesus to cause the death of His friend, in order to create an opportunity for that most wonderful of all His miracles. But in assuming this, the fact was lost sight of that free invention did not need all this artificial and unnatural machinery to

did not prevent some of His bitterest opponents from visiting at the house. This He knew, and aware that many must have come out to take part in the usual mourning ceremonies, He stopped at a little distance from the place, but took care that His arrival should be known. It is significant that the peculiarities of the two sisters are shown as characteristically here as in the older narration, and yet there is no such resemblance as would lead one to think of the imitation which criticism assumes. While Mary sits sorrowing in the house, the busy Martha hears the news of Jesus' arrival, and hastens to meet Him. She receives Him with the complaint that He has not come in time to save His friend, but she ventures still to hope, for she knows that nothing is so great that God would not grant it to Jesus' petition. The assurance that her brother shall rise again does not suffice her, for this might be but a comforting reference to the future resurrection for which all believers hoped. And even the reminder of Jesus' life-giving power is only answered by a confession of His Messianic calling, which, because she had learnt to accept it in a deeper and more spiritual sense, by no means pledged itself to the fulfilment of her most ardent wishes (John xi. 18–27). Though evidently freely reproduced in the Johannine manner, this conversation is by no means imaginary,[1] for it plainly shows that Jesus' purpose was to teach Martha to regard the desired miracle in the light of His higher and

describe how Jesus raised a man who had long been buried, if His enigmatical hesitation was not a fact. According to the representation of this evangelist, at least, it was not Jesus' own arrangement, but a beneficent divine decree which gave occasion for working this miracle (John xi. 15). But the fact that here, as in the synoptic narrative, the relatives did not wait for the death of their friend, but sent at once for the great Helper, did not originate in an imitation of the story of Jairus, but must be explained from the historical circumstances; for people were wont to expect cures from Jesus, but the raising of a man from the dead only occurred in very exceptional cases. The misunderstanding of Jesus' allegory (John xi. 11) is thus not incomprehensible, but it in no way proves that the latter was a reminiscence of Matt. ix. 24. Strauss' explanation of these words by the Christian view of death cannot be entertained; his reason for it is the reference to the immediate resurrection of Lazarus.

[1] Criticism indeed finds the idea of the whole fiction fully expressed in it; it is so far right, for this conversation was of consequence to the evangelist, because it caused the miracle of raising the dead to appear as a prelude and an emblem of the whole life-giving work of Jesus, in the sense of the apostle (comp. vol. ii. p. 103, note). This is here expressed in true Johannine manner.

more extensive calling, and so to lead her to the faith which was in every case the condition of His miraculous aid. Here, however, in the circle of His closest adherents, that faith must needs be deeper and purer than Jesus could expect from the multitude.

At our Lord's request Mary comes out to Him also, but He cannot converse at any length with her; for, giving vent to the same lament as her sister, she falls silently weeping at His feet; and Jesus Himself weeps on beholding the grief of His friend. We can understand this truly human sympathy, which in the actual circumstances could neither be weakened by the reflection on that divine will, according to which Lazarus must die, nor by the knowledge of the approaching transformation of grief into joy. And so likewise was it a thoroughly human agitation which affected Jesus at the sight of the unbelieving Jews. For these, thinking that Mary had hastened to the grave to weep there, followed, in order to comfort her, and now stood around her weeping. Of course it is only a reflection on the part of the evangelist when he speaks of an inward emotion; but we can easily understand how Jesus felt repelled by this ceremonial condolence from those whose attitude was so hostile to all that the sisters held best and dearest; even at the sight of His tears they had spitefully remarked that He who could really open the eyes of the blind might also have averted the death which was now being lamented (John xi. 28–38).[1]

Putting an end to the scene as soon as possible, Jesus asks to be led to the grave, which we find was one such as befitted the circumstances of an opulent family. It was a cave in the rock, and closed with a stone. Here they

[1] Criticism can only see in this truly human sympathy a great discrepancy with the Logos Christ of its poet-philosophers; or it explains the tears of Jesus in a manner as contrary to sense as to context,—as tears over the want of faith in His power to restore life. The artificial dogmatic reflections of the apologists, in regard to the anger of Jesus of which John repeatedly speaks, are largely to blame for the conclusion to which criticism comes, when it regards this anger as taken from Jesus' treatment of the mockers, whom in the older narrative of restoring life He drives from the house of Jairus. That Jesus' enemies refer to His former miracles of healing, and not to those of life-giving, is not to be wondered at, for all that they were concerned about was the reason why He had not come in time to save Lazarus.

had laid the corpse, lightly wrapped in the grave-clothes, without embalming it. For they had always hoped for Jesus' arrival, as we learn from the words of Martha; and trusting that He would give new life to the dead, they had refrained from preparing the body for its everlasting repose, because that seemed to destroy the last hope. In the meantime the fourth day had come, and according to all human experience, decomposition must already have begun its work of destruction. Therefore, when Jesus commands the grave to be opened, the sisters at once think of the terrible appearance which the corpse of their beloved brother will present, and which the odour of corruption already prepares them for; Martha endeavours to prevent the removing of the stone, and Jesus is obliged to remind her again that only faith can behold God's miraculous assistance. No distinct promise was made to her, and the tears of Jesus, which seemed to be shed for one lost to this life, must have made her despair the greater. But above all, the spirit of doubt was called forth by the approach of that decisive moment which threatened to extinguish every possible hope.[1] As soon as the stone is removed, Jesus raises His eyes to heaven, and thanks the Father for hearing His prayer and awakening His friend. No doubt He is always sure of a hearing, and therefore with Him supplication changes immediately to thanksgiving; but here He gives thanks publicly. The honour of what was about to happen was not due to Him. It must be given to the Father, and He desires that it be shown through belief in Jesus' divine mission.[2] He therefore bids the miracu-

[1] The criticism which finds it of the greatest importance to authenticate the raising of a decaying corpse, because according to its view the drift of the whole fiction depends upon it, is never weary of decrying as a miserable subterfuge of the apologists the belief that only a fear of the sisters is here described. This view is only literal, for it cannot be *proved* that an actual odour of corruption was felt, but the sisters were afraid of it, judging from the time which the corpse had lain in the grave. John xi. 40 can only be regarded as a mere imitation of Mark v. 36, by overlooking the fact that the isolated cases in which Jesus raised the dead tested faith in quite another way than did His daily acts of healing.

[2] The difficulties which criticism has found in this so-called parade prayer exist only in its own suppositions. It is said that the godlike Logos, as such, can indeed neither ask nor thank; and if He nevertheless prays, in order to legitimize His mission, He is an actor; but if He at the same time says that He only prays for an approved purpose, He is a right bad actor. On the other

lously reanimated man come forth from the grave. Lazarus steps out, the grave-clothes still wrapped around him, and Jesus tells the bystanders to loose the bands that bind him (xi. 38–44).

What has always confused men's judgment in regard to this narrative is the hypothesis, current also with apologists, that the miracle was of an altogether particular kind. Yet it differs in no respect from the synoptic accounts of restorations to life, if the latter are considered as real miracles, and not reduced to a natural awakening from a trance on account of the greater nearness of the time of death. If in the counsel of God Lazarus was to be called back to life, it is self-evident here, as in all cases, that the separation of soul from body had not yet taken place (comp. vol. ii. p. 186), and therefore the latter could not fall a victim to decay. How long the sleep of death endured, which had stilled every symptom of life, and could not be dispelled by any natural remedy, is a matter of unimportance, so long as the reanimation resulted from a divine act, for that condition lies beyond the observations of experience. Some such miracle as this must be admitted, for the assumption of a natural awakening, and so of a mere trance, is here completely excluded by the general tenor, as well as by all the suppositions, of the narrative. Jesus expresses no hope of saving His friend, but He sets out in order to recall the dead to life. He does not console the sisters with the possibility of a reanimation, but He promises a revelation of the divine glory, which conquers death. Standing at the grave of Lazarus, He thanks His Father for a fresh attestation of His divine mission, and then calls the man out of the grave who had been just awakened from the slumber of death: but the idea that this call aroused him is entirely arbitrary. But the supposition that Jesus did this in the firm conviction that Lazarus would in the meantime have awakened from his trance in a natural manner, has been called by Strauss, and

hand, the utterance, before others, of a sincere gratitude, is no adaptation; and the avowal of a man's purpose is only the self-accusation of a hypocrite, if the prayer was a piece of empty bombast which was intended to pass as an utterance from the heart. But here Jesus clearly wants to place beyond all doubt whom they have to thank for the miracle which has taken place.

not without reason, an insane idea. Jesus must have called Lazarus from the grave, because assured that the divine miracle of raising from the dead would be performed on him. But if the truth of the event related above be granted, without the miracle being admitted, nothing remains but to suppose, with Renan, that Jesus' friends at Bethany, in order to give a fresh impetus to His cause in the unbelieving capital, wrapped their brother, white from his recent illness, in linen, and immured him in the family vault. Jesus had wished to look upon His apparently deceased friend, and therefore had not Himself a part in the deception, but afterwards, when, as we are told, He had lost His original purity through His battle with the world, He allowed the miracle, thus planned by His followers, to be attributed to Him.

But if this miracle of raising the dead is completely analogous to those of the Synoptists, the question—directed against its historical truth—as to how this miracle of all miracles should be lost to the synoptic tradition comes to nothing. It follows from the circumstances in which the older Gospels took their rise, that they have scarcely preserved any reminiscences of the time between Jesus' great ministry in Galilee and His last visit to the feast. There is therefore no need of the many devices by which apologists try to explain the "silence of the Synoptists" concerning the raising of Lazarus. On the other hand, it is useless to appeal to the pragmatic significance which, according to John, this event has for the development of Jesus' fate. In the Synoptists this development is entirely destitute of pragmatic grounds, and therefore the want of a distinct *motive* is not striking. But the root of this objection is a too great appreciation of that significance. The enthusiasm of the people at the entry into Jerusalem cannot be explained by a miracle such as had been already witnessed frequently, nor was the hierarchy thereby so strongly incited to hostility that they were ready to take the strongest measures; but the procedure against Jesus was certainly not grounded upon this miracle. If the fourth evangelist had really attributed such special importance to the raising of Lazarus, that would undoubtedly show that he had over-estimated it.

The criticism which denies the miraculous believes it can

prove this incident to be a masterpiece of allegorical fiction, and Strauss has employed all his wit and acuteness to expose its composition by his analysis of the details. The alleged borrowings from synoptic materials have already shown themselves to be untenable, or else they do not go beyond what is understood, as a matter of course, on the subject of restoring life to the dead. But no one can ever understand why so great an artist as the author of this story, which even Keim calls "grand and touching," should work so laboriously with strange materials, instead of proceeding with a free hand If Jesus was to be represented as the absolute principle of life, all that was required was that the man should really be dead; and the paltry reckoning of the days he had already lain in the grave, or the establishing the fact of death by the commencing decomposition, was completely superfluous in an age ever prone to believe in the miraculous—an age which did not at once plead a trance as the cause, as does a criticism ever on the outlook for doubts. In his eagerness to prepare everything for the last great effect, the inventor has surely completely frustrated his purpose. For if a body which has only died in order to be resuscitated (John xi. 4), and which has fallen into decay only because Jesus intentionally delayed His coming that He might be able to revive a decomposed body (John xi. 6),—if such a corpse is called back to life, this completely isolated occurrence, with its utterly unparalleled conditions, naturally says nothing for the power of Jesus over death, a fate which sweeps away men to deliver them to corruption. But if the charm of this narrative, in contradistinction to those of the Synoptics, lies in its sentiment, it is difficult to understand why the weeping sisters should be a sadder sight than the widow robbed of her last support. On the other hand, with the simulated tears and simulated prayer of Jesus at the grave, the narrator entangles himself completely in the most evident contradiction of all the presuppositions of his Logos doctrine. In conclusion, criticism regards this narrative as the spring which the evangelist had to put in in order to bring about the final catastrophe, after he had already used all other historical motives. But in John's Gospel there is no trace of such an absurdity as that this miracle played a part in the trial of

Jesus, or that the Roman procurator interposed by reason of it. It was certainly of importance to John that the Lazarus miracle, in which, according to his view, Jesus revealed Himself as the Prince of Life, was the external impulse which caused the deadly hostility of His opponents to proceed to extremities. But no one has more clearly understood the motive for this hostility than this evangelist, but from the determination to the execution was a long way.

Spinoza is reported to have said that, if any one could convince him of the truth of the raising of Lazarus, he would break his system in pieces, and avow himself a believer in the common Christian faith. This faith depends as little on the raising of Lazarus as on any other of the miracles of our Lord; but for true historical criticism, the Johannine narration is both unexplained and inexplicable unless its historicity be accepted.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROAD TO DEATH.

PRECISELY because Jesus had not wrought a long series of cures in Jerusalem as He had done in Galilee, a miracle like the healing of the blind man must have occasioned unusual surprise. The leaders of fashion in the city, who had only jeered at the miracles which the Galilean prophet had wrought among the credulous inhabitants of the northern province, had tried most unsuccessfully to show how the healing of the blind man was a concerted piece of deception. But not a few of the principal people had been present at the resurrection of Lazarus, a man whose family was associated with Jerusalem in such a way as to be raised above suspicion. The simple conclusion had again been arrived at by many of the spectators, that He who had performed such a mighty act, might after all be the man who would accomplish all which they expected from their Messiah. The fact was that many who saw the miracle already believed on Him; others, however, did not delay to carry the news of the occurrence to His enemies, and to point out to them that it would inevitably increase the number of His followers in the capital (John xi. 45 f.).

The supreme court then assembled, and its members made no secret of the danger of the situation. This man had inexhaustible resources, and if He lost ground one day in the estimation of the deluded people, He regained it the next by some new stroke. His influence was ever on the ascendant, and they had to acknowledge openly that He would at last have the whole nation on His side, and then an insurrection with the object of proving Him to be the Messiah would be sure to ensue. But the politicians of Jerusalem estimated the intervention of Rome very differently from the credulous Galileans. They did not require to ponder over the question

whether a successful revolt under the leadership, or even in the name, of their opponent would be for their advantage. They believed it to be a certainty that revolt could only result in victory to the Romans, who would punish the refractory people by subjugating them entirely, and taking from them their last remnant of independence, and then the priests' authority would be at an end. After long discussion the high priest Caiaphas gave the truly Jesuitical advice, to sacrifice for the common weal the one man who was endangering the welfare of the people. This utterance corresponded with the inmost thoughts of each and all, though they had shrunk from giving expression to them. At the feast of Tabernacles they had been unable to surmount the hindrances imposed on their action by the law, though they chafed against them. More than once they had meditated on making their offensive opponent harmless by imprisonment; but the chances of a legal process would be eminently uncertain so long as they did not know exactly what they wanted, and did not make up their minds to attain their end by any method. It was no longer of consequence to ascertain Jesus' guilt, they must mitigate the danger with which His action threatened them; for this was a matter bearing upon their present position and their future. There was little time left to indulge in doubt and scruple. His death was decided on, and all that they had to consider now was the manner of executing their purpose. The better disposed members of the Council appear to have withdrawn from this time, after seeing that the majority would not be gainsaid (comp. Luke xxiii. 51). In the next place all needful measures were taken to discover where Jesus was, in order that they might take Him into custody at once (John xi. 47–53, 57).[1]

[1] We cannot know with certainty what degree of exactness and authenticity was contained in the information which Jesus' disciples received regarding the proceedings of the supreme court; and we are equally uncertain whether, when John wrote his Gospel, he could clearly distinguish the successive degrees of increase in the hostility against Jesus. In any case it was not the miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead, which was taken as a pretext for the imprisonment and condemnation of Jesus, as criticism maintains, but the hierarchy, which had hitherto been hesitating, now saw cause for taking energetic steps in the impression which was being made on the people (comp. xi. 47). It is even more difficult to ascertain whether Caiaphas' words, which not unlikely

In truth, however, no one knew where Jesus had gone; for, being fully conscious of His dangerous position, He did not even enter the village of Bethany, but withdrew immediately after the resurrection of Lazarus. The city He chose to tarry in was Ephraim, situated at the north-east corner of the southern province, and the adjacent wilderness offered a welcome retreat from probable pursuers (xi. 54). It had become clear to Jesus that His fate would soon be decided; but nothing could be done without the participation of the whole nation, and for that a fitting opportunity would be given in the forthcoming feast and Passover, when all Israel should again be assembled in the capital. He dared not fall a sacrifice to secret snares of His enemies; and as it was not for Him to invoke the miraculous protection of God, He was obliged to take human precautions till His hour should come. Now, indeed, it was only a matter of weeks, perhaps of days, for the feast of the Passover was nigh. Already the people had begun to assemble in Jerusalem from the country of Judea, with the object of submitting to the somewhat lengthy ceremonies of purification, which should fit them for taking part in the Passover. It was already being discussed in the city whether Jesus would again venture to come up to the feast and defy the increased hostility of the hierarchy; and the general opinion was that He would not (xi. 55 f.). It is vain to assert that the fourth evangelist has given such a premature description of the conflict of Jesus with the hierarchy only in order to show that the visit to this Passover must have threatened immediate danger to Him, though immediately afterwards he indulged in reflections as to how Jesus might gradually reform their worship in case of a favourable reception; according to Mark also, Jesus told His

were suggested by the reflections in x. 48, were uttered now or not till after the entrance of Jesus into the city, when the cause for such apprehension was even more pressing (xii. 19); one thing, however, is evident, and that is the special importance which the evangelist attaches to the miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead here as well as farther on (xii. 9 ff., 17) in his narrative. But that these words are authentic appears incontrovertibly from the manner in which the evangelist finds in them an involuntary prophecy which Caiaphas uttered in his capacity of high priest, thus fulfilling God's decree. Besides, the amplification of the words by John himself would only make the imposture all the more unprecedented (xi. 51 f.).

disciples most decidedly when they started for the feast that He was going to meet His death (Mark x. 33 f.). We cannot therefore escape the question, What induced Him to attend it? The religious duty incumbent upon the Israelites has been cited, but that only demanded the observance of one of the three great annual festivals, and Jesus was sufficiently independent of the law to subordinate ceremonial observances to His highest calling. To say that He was menaced elsewhere to the same degree is thoroughly incorrect. As the pretended persecutions of His country's sovereign are purely imaginary, He might either have escaped to Galilee or Perea from the snares of the Sanhedrin, for it would have had no interest in attacking Him if He retired to His prophetic career in the more distant provinces. We also know that although He considered this phase of His activity to be essentially at an end, He could still have devoted Himself to the further instruction of His disciples, whose development He by no means regarded as complete. Finally, that He let Himself be influenced by His disciples who pressed for a decision, is just as far short of proof as it is inconceivable. Only the direct certainty that His hour was come could move Him to think of visiting this feast. There the final decision had to be made, and if some incalculable decree of God did not intervene, the end could only be His earthly destruction.

Mark has preserved for us the recollection of the memorable moment when Jesus set out from Ephraim. He had not spoken about it to His disciples; but when He went on before them, as His custom was during their wanderings, they became aware that He had taken the road leading to Jerusalem. They had certainly had as little expectation as the inhabitants of the capital that He would again expose Himself to collision with the embittered rulers; and indeed they had even warned Him against proceeding towards Bethany (John xi. 8). Their surprise was accordingly very great, and the crowds of people who surrounded Him here also followed Him with anxious premonitions. Jesus then called the Twelve to Him, clearly revealed His purpose to go up to Jerusalem, and left no doubt of what would happen to Him there (Mark x. 32). If His hour was come, He could no longer reckon on the protection of His heavenly Father, and would therefore

inevitably fall into the hands of His enemies. There could be no doubt that the rulers would condemn Him to death, and that they would deliver Him up to the Roman governor in order to hasten the execution of the sentence. We cannot be certain how far He here indicated that He would be spared no ignominy and disgrace, because the hierarchy did not wish merely to kill Him, but also to annihilate His influence on His followers by condemning Him to a shameful death. This uncertainty springs from the likelihood that the particulars with which tradition has adorned Jesus' prophetic reference were probably derived from the definite nature which they acquired after the prophecy had been fulfilled. In any case He did not omit to point beyond His death to the wonderful evidence of His Messiahship, which God would afterwards give in His resurrection from the dead (Mark x. 33 f.).

But it is from this very point that we see how little heed the disciples gave to such intimations. They must have recognised that there would be serious complications with both Jewish and Roman authorities, and as time rolled on it would become more terribly clear to them that this struggle would devolve heavy sorrow on them as well as on the Master. They held tenaciously, however, to the prospect of a victorious and glorious result; and what they explained that to mean is made abundantly clear by the hesitating request of the sons of Zebedee that Jesus would authorize them to expect the highest places of honour when He should come to His glorious kingdom (Mark x. 35–37). From this it appears that they always held firmly to the supposition that the final intervention of God in Jesus' struggle with His enemies could only lead to such a result. This request impressed the first evangelist as being so remarkable, that he could only attribute it to the heart of a mother (Matt. xx. 20); and indeed it can only be understood when we remember that those who kept so closely by Jesus while He was fulfilling His earthly vocation, were very dear to Him, besides being related (comp. vol. i. p. 367). It was no paltry ambition which led them to request that they might still be nearest to Him after the accomplishment of His work; for when Jesus informed them that the condition of such proximity must be

participation in His sufferings, they joyfully declared their readiness to fulfil it. He did not conceal from them that they would have to give proof of this readiness, but He told them that He Himself had no power to legislate as to their future position in His kingdom; that would not be given as a favour or a reward, but was already assigned by God, who had decided for each one, in accordance with his endowments, what part he should take in the future of the divine cause (Mark. x. 38–40).[1] Though the sons of Zebedee might be nearest His heart, special gifts had marked out Peter as the first in the community; but with regard to this also Jesus is quite silent as to how the divers places of His disciples will be arranged in the future, and gives no direct rebuff to their sensuous hopes. The reason of His silence was that this form depended entirely on the way in which God's hand would terminate the forthcoming struggle, and Jesus neither dared anticipate His decree with regard to that, nor with regard to the destiny of individuals.

It is impossible that Jesus can have proceeded directly to Jerusalem, if, as John relates, He entered the city from Bethany (John xii. 1, 12); and seeing that Bethany lay on the road to Jericho, it is more likely that He went thence from Jericho, as the synoptical narrative has recorded (Mark x. 46). But this He could only do if He purposely went from Ephraim to Jericho. The Galilean pilgrims to the feasts at Jerusalem were indeed accustomed to pass through Jericho, when they chose the way through Perea in order to avoid the eternal encounters with the Samaritans. Jesus, who had so often trodden this road with the journeying troops of His countrymen, knew well on what day they were accustomed to enter the city in order to take a last rest there before setting out for the capital, which was a day's journey distant. It is certain then that He went to Jericho in order to meet the pilgrims on their way to the festival. This time He

[1] The Old Testament metaphor of the cup of suffering which some one was to partake of is undoubtedly original (comp. Isa. li. 17 and Jer. xlix. 12), whilst the allusion to the baptism of suffering is only a reminiscence of another saying of Jesus (Luke xii. 50; comp. p. 9). The authenticity of this figure is shown, however, by the vain endeavour of a later period, which regarded it as a literal prophecy, to demonstrate its fulfilment. John at least did not drink from the cup of suffering as Jesus did.

wished to do what He had refused his brethren at the feast of Tabernacles. He desired to make a public appearance at the feast: He would let the whole nation know that He was determined to defy His enemies and have a last encounter with them. The presence of the Galileans besides, among whom were still to be reckoned the most of His followers, would afford Him protection for some days from the attacks of the hierarchy. The last understanding with the people should decide whether the priests would now be able to carry out their plans against Him.

Jericho was the scene of an incident which Luke has derived from one of the sources peculiar to himself. The administrator of the Roman revenues, who was entrusted with the oversight of the common publicans, was stationed there. This chief of the publicans, Zacchæus by name, and like his subordinates, an avaricious man, had become rich by many acts of injustice, for which his post afforded abundant opportunity. If the scene was exactly as Luke fancies, Jesus must have encountered the pilgrims before the town, and entered it amidst popular demonstration. When it was rumoured that the great prophet was approaching, Zacchæus was enticed to the place through curiosity to see Jesus; and as he was small of stature he climbed into a sycamore tree, so as to catch a glimpse of this renowned man over the heads of the surrounding crowd. Jesus observed the strange act of homage, and easily learned the name and character of a man whose reputation was so bad. There was a charm for Him, however, in the task of winning this lost son of His people by a gracious approach; He therefore stood still, called out to him, and offered Himself as his guest. The man who was regarded with such universal suspicion was thus restored to self-respect, and the moment when Jesus bestowed on him this unexpected honour, taken in conjunction with the direct impression of Jesus' personality, decided his life. When he received his high guest joyfully into his house, he solemnly vowed to make good all his former injustice, and to give half of his goods to the poor. Jesus' entrance into the house of the despised publican had caused murmurs among the people, but He justified His act by saying that the publican too was a son of Abraham, and therefore belonged to the nation to

whom He was sent to bring salvation. More than that, His vocation to save the lost was being fulfilled when He saved a lost soul by entering into the house of a sinner (Luke xix. 1–10).[1]

Next morning Jesus accompanied the pilgrims out of the town; and as they went, a blind man named Bartimæus sat by the highway-side begging. When he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth who was passing by, he begged Him, as the son of David, to have mercy on him. In vain did the people bid him hold his peace; he only called the louder, so as to ensure his being heard; and at last Jesus commanded him to be brought to Him. Springing joyfully to his feet, the blind man cast aside his garment and came to Jesus; and in answer to the question as to what he wished for, asked that he might receive his sight. Because of his faith the request was granted, and he immediately joined himself to Jesus' enthusiastic followers (Mark x. 46–52). Few details of this event appear to have been handed down, for the manner in which Mark relates it recalls in many ways a healing of a blind man mentioned in the apostolic source (Matt. ix. 27–30).[2] But it is very evident that the

[1] Nothing is gained from combating the censoriousness with which the last biography of Jesus has handled this narrative in order to stigmatize it as non-historical. A "slight gleam of the miraculous" must be admitted when Jesus recognises both the name and character of an utter stranger, or one must feel vexed at the idea of "a man of wealth and position climbing a tree." It is, however, a mere erroneous fancy to think of the chief publican, whether in reality or allegory, as a Gentile whom Luke only called a son of Abraham in the Pauline sense, and just as erroneous is it to explain the publican's conversion by the assumption that Jesus tarried four-and-twenty hours in his house.

[2] Hence it has happened that the first evangelist, thinking that he had re-discovered the incident, which he related in chap. ix. from the apostolic original, in its proper historical place, in what was now recounted by Mark with more exact details in its historical position, takes it up again, and only rectifies his predecessor by introducing two unnamed blind men from the older narrative instead of the one mentioned here. At the same time Luke has thought himself compelled to put the healing of the blind man before the entry into Jericho, because the story of Zacchæus leads to the presumption that Jesus was accompanied by a multitude of people when He passed through that city (Luke xviii. 35–43). Thus a strange problem is offered to us, which the older harmonists could only solve by accepting the suggestion that there were three similar cases of curing the blind. Later critics have supposed that the first evangelist conjoined the blind man, who according to Luke was cured on entering, with him whom Mark represents as being cured on

act of healing was remembered in conjunction with the name of the healed one, because the event had a direct influence in kindling anew the enthusiasm of the Galileans in whose company Jesus went up to the capital.

Those who hold the synoptic narrative to be the only historical one have least cause to combat the idea that Jesus' journey from this time assumed more and more the character of a triumphal procession. And yet this is more difficult to explain by their presuppositions than any others. If the older Gospels seem to lack clear insight into the crisis which, according to the fourth, was effected in Judea, Jesus nevertheless did withdraw more completely from active ministry among the people during the last period of His sojourn there, and traces of ardent enthusiasm for Him became gradually rarer. Whence, then, came this new outburst nigh to Jericho? According to criticism, Jesus was now addressed for the first time as son of David, and acknowledgment was thus made of His Messiahship.[1] But there is not the slightest trace of a sufficient *motive* for what Keim would have us believe, that one day in Jericho sufficed to produce that disposition to

leaving Jericho, or else the blind man of Mark x. with him of Mark viii. Those who wished to stamp as a bold invention this narrative which is of so Petrine a nature, and which not only gives the time and place of the action, but also the name of the healed man, were obliged to use the most incredible artifice to attribute some particular meaning to the genuine Aramaic name which Mark has rightly declared to be a patronymic. As a result of these artificial endeavours, the question is still disputed whether the word means the son of a blind man or of an impure man. On that account the modern natural explanation has to be contented with the theory that the trust which originated in the billowing and surging of popular religious feeling "might give a direct accession to nervous and physical force by its sudden assault, and thus restore lost or impaired sight temporarily or even permanently."

[1] A really critical analysis of Mark's narrative must raise a doubt as to whether the invocation of the son of David was not transferred in its entirety from the older account of the two blind men (Matt. ix. 27). When Mark represents the multitude as inculcating silence on the blind man (Mark x. 48), it is certainly not with a view to guard Jesus from annoyance and disturbance, but the narrator rather seems to be thinking of a proposed proclamation of Jesus as Messiah, such as was actually effected on the entry into Jerusalem, and with this end in view he has feared that a premature indication of this purpose might have nullified its accomplishment. But as this ovation was bestowed under somewhat different circumstances from those conceived of by Mark, this threat and its motive become of equal dubiety with the invocation of Jesus as Messiah, in which Mark apparently finds the real significance of this preliminary to the entry.

receive the Messiah which the quiet continuous work of Jesus had taken a year to effect, in Galilee. The explanation generally given is the "impressionable nature of the people of Jericho;" but what a different form everything has taken when those Galilean pilgrims see Jesus again after more than six months' absence; for among them He still counted many warm adherents, although they had renounced hope in Him as their Messiah. During the latter period of His sojourn in Galilee He had purposely withdrawn from active life, but He now resumed His former ministry and put Himself at the service of the people. He began by working a great miracle in the sight of all; and what they had formerly importuned Him vainly to do, He now did voluntarily. He proceeded at their head towards the great national feast of liberty at Jerusalem. It was known with certainty in Galilee that the strife between Him and the rulers had been brought to a head. Could He possibly dare, they must have asked, to approach them again, if He had not prospects of the most unusual kind?

Enthusiasm for Him again runs high. Old long-buried hopes are revived, and singing the psalms of degrees with redoubled gladsomeness, the multitude toils through the barren region of fissured rocks which borders the exposed road to Jerusalem: soon the slope of Olivet is gained, where Bethany nestles among its trees and vineyards.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

SIX days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany (John xii. 1), entering it just as the Sabbath began. We might infer this even if John had not expressly said so; for, since the feast began on Friday evening, the great mass of the pilgrims would have arrived too late to make the necessary preparations if they had waited for the Sabbath to close before setting out. The nature of the case made it impossible to tarry for a whole day on the way. The usual arrangement must therefore have been to arrive in Jerusalem when the Sabbath was about to commence, or at least to leave only so much of the last day's journey to be accomplished after six o'clock as strict Sabbath observance permitted. According to the older tradition, Jesus entered the city along with the caravans of pilgrims (Mark xi. 1); and yet it is impossible to understand how it is that Mark's original account, which alone is here authoritative, should represent Him as immediately turning back in order to pass the night in Bethany (xi. 11), especially as the road between the two places is certainly longer than was permitted for a Sabbath day's journey (comp. Acts i. 12). We are forced to regard this statement as a true reminiscence of the fact that Jesus spent some time in Bethany before appearing at the feast at all, and therefore of course before His entrance into the capital; and this is exactly what we learn from John. As the caravans approached Jerusalem, Jesus and His disciples seem to have hung back, and thus when the Sabbath was about to begin, *i.e.* at six o'clock in the evening, He entered Bethany.

His arrival there was soon generally known, and when He entered His friend's house for the first time since the resurrection of Lazarus, they had plainly prepared for Him a solemn

Sabbath meal.[1] Again we see the great dissimilarity between the two sisters. Martha is busily employed in waiting at table, while Mary has resolved to give the honoured guest a particular token of her love and esteem. We have seen already that it was not only the fourth evangelist who identified the unnamed woman of the older tradition with Mary of Bethany (John xi. 2; comp. p. 204, note); and it is easily comprehensible how the anointing, mentioned in the older Gospels also, was regarded as having been applied to the head, according to the common custom (Matt. xxvi. 7), although Mary really gave a more unusual proof of reverence by anointing Jesus' feet (Luke vii. 38, 46) and drying them with her hair (John xii. 3). Surprise has been felt at the extraordinary extravagance involved in such an act, for John speaks of a whole pound of costly spikenard having been used; but the ointment seems to have been that which was intended for embalming Lazarus, which Mary knew of no better use to put it to than, as Mark relates (xiv. 3), to break the cruse and pour its fragrant, costly contents upon the feet of Jesus.[2]

[1] According to Mark xiv. 3, that meal in Bethany, where Jesus was anointed, and with which the oldest apostolic source seems to have closed its narrative (comp. vol. i. p. 36), took place in the house of a certain Simon, who is described as a leper (probably one of those healed by Jesus). We do not know what the relation was between Simon and the two sisters, although it has been supposed that he might have been the father of the brother and sisters, or else the husband of Martha who was waiting there. At any rate, even John represents Lazarus as being not master but guest (John xii. 2). To assume that Mark places the meal two days before the Passover (Mark xiv. 1), is to overlook the fact of his having introduced the narrative into the history of the betrayal from purely topical reasons; for he wished to show (xiv. 3–9) that while the Council were still helplessly deliberating how to get Him out of the way, Jesus was facing the certainty of His approaching death (xiv. 8). It is quite inconceivable that the fourth evangelist should have anticipated this anointing in order to point to the dedication of Jesus as the Paschal Lamb by the day for choosing the victim (Ex. xii. 3), which can hardly have been known to his Gentile-Christian readers; or that by the Sabbath he referred to Jesus' burial day.

[2] No one but Strauss would ever have thought that by this act legend wished to replace the omitted anointing of Jesus' corpse; as if the followers of Jesus, who believed in His resurrection, could ever think of regretting its omission. But even the modern criticism which regards the narrative of the Fourth Gospel as only a redaction of the two accounts of anointings given by the Synoptists (Mark xiv.; Luke vii.) has not yet explained how the evangelist, from his higher standpoint, could add nothing to their material but the mention of some nameless persons, and a slight exaggeration as to the quantity of ointment, thereby somewhat lessening its value (John xii. 5; comp. with Mark xiv. 5).

But even the oldest tradition tells how offence was given by this use of precious ointment, the produce of which might better have been given to the poor (Matt. xxvi. 8 f.); and John, who manifestly had Mark's narrative in mind, estimates its value at three hundred pence. Such a coldly rational calculation in the presence of the Master may be regarded as showing a great want of tact; but the words were not entirely objectionable, although it was afterwards considered that only the betrayer was capable of uttering them, and it is difficult to believe that "the child of destruction" was regarded with such dislike that he was charged, without any ground, with the desire of enriching himself from the gains of the disciples (John xii. 4–6). John was only able to explain this pretended care for the poor, which threw a damper upon the satisfaction occasioned by the homage done to the Master, by the robberies which afterwards came to light; and therefore it is certainly a reminiscence of his own that Judas uttered the words which Mark ascribes to no one, but which are attributed by the first evangelist to the disciples in general. The most recent critic regards Jesus' answer to the betrayer as far too mild, but he does not take into account that for that very reason an after age would not have addressed it to him. Jesus then proceeded to defend the act of His admirer, because there was still abundance of time for the exercise of benevolence, but this was the only time for giving this proof of affection. Interpreting Mary's action in accordance with His own state of mind, which, sensible of the near approach of His death, looked upon this deed as the last honour that would be done Him, Jesus represented it as being intended to prepare His body for burial (Matt. xxvi. 10–12).[1] To Him that feast in Bethany was the celebration of His obsequies, while even then Jerusalem and Galilee were preparing to welcome their Messiah.

The Galilean pilgrims had rapidly spread the tidings through

[1] It is evident that the account of the oldest source is contained in the first Gospel, for the setting in which this utterance of Jesus is given is in the most original form. Even Mark explains the anointing to have been a proleptical embalming (xiv. 8); and although John's expression is somewhat inflexible (xii. 7 f.), yet it can be most easily explained from Matt. xxvi. 12. Any other explanations, and especially a reference to later Passover customs, which criticism assumes, seems to have still less connection with the simple phraseology.

the city that Jesus was coming to the feast. While the Sabbath lasted, the people were of course obliged to keep the appointed rest, but scarcely had six o'clock passed when all was bustle in quiet Bethany. The visitors there were chiefly citizens of the metropolis; principally, perhaps, representatives of the various sections of Jesus' opponents, who came to convince themselves of the truth of the report. But there were also those who, when they beheld the performer, and the witness of that miraculous deed which had caused such excitement, confessed themselves vanquished, and joined the followers of Jesus. Such cases as these, however, only embittered His opponents; and it was rumoured that the high priests had it in view to remove Lazarus too out of the way, so as to get rid of a troublesome witness to the miraculous power of the pseudo-Messiah (John xii. 9-11). On the other hand, the intelligence of what had happened in Bethany helped to excite the multitude still more. Tidings spread of the exasperation of a hierarchy which was far from popular among the Galileans; and no one doubted that a catastrophe would occur if Jesus now made His appearance in the metropolis. If He would not court open destruction, what was left for Him then but to resign Himself to a people who thought their protection was not too dearly bought by Jesus' tardy acquiescence in their wishes? And if, in spite of all, He still hesitated, this was the hour for compelling Him to undertake what was both for His good and theirs. When intelligence was now received that Jesus would come to town on the morrow, the multitude resolved what was to be done. They would bring Him in with all solemnity, and before the hierarchy and the Roman governor would proclaim Him the Messianic King. Everything else would follow in due course.

It was on the first day of the Passover week (our Sunday) that throngs of people streamed from the gate of Jerusalem towards the Mount of Olives. At the same time Jesus had

In Mark, however, Jesus promises that her act shall be held in perpetual honour, and shall be made known to the whole world through the preaching of the gospel (xiv. 9). It is evident that this is only an expression of the fact that for the sake of Jesus' words this deed has already been made known, by the oldest Gospel, to the whole world. It says little for the insight of such an intensely acute critic as Keim that he pronounces the plainly secondary form of Matt. xxvi. 13 to be authentic.

departed from Bethany accompanied by a large following of disciples and of friends from that village; when the multitude came in sight He can have had no doubt as to their intention, but this time He did not go out of the way, as when He retired to the heights by the Lake of Gennesareth. The people desired to greet Him as their Messiah, and that was what He wished to be. It had to be publicly proclaimed in the hearing of the whole assemblage, and also of His enemies, that He came as the promised and expected Deliverer of His people; and it could not be better done than by yielding Himself to the jubilations of the enthusiastic multitude. Engraven on His soul at this time was the word of the ancient prophet: Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee (Zech. ix. 9). The prophet had drawn a picture of the mighty King of Peace, who should make an end of war and bloodshed, and had represented Him as coming, not seated upon a war-horse, but upon the peaceful beast of burden; and similarly, Jesus desired to exhibit to the people what the character of His kingdom was to be. He had not come to commence a Messianic revolution, but once more to offer the nation that salvation which He presented by His life-creating word. Neither had He come to struggle for a throne; His object was to place before the people for the last time the crucial question, whether they would accept His peaceful Messiahship or not. The foal of an ass was procured for His use, and mounted by Him after the disciples had spread their garments upon it. He was now met by a procession of people with palm branches in their hands, as if they had come to receive a king (comp. 1 Macc. xiii. 51); when accosted by the followers who were assembled round their Messiah, they broke forth into loud jubilations. We read that some of the multitude spread their garments in the way; while others cut branches from the trees and strewed the road with them. From mouth to mouth passed the Hosannah call of the festive psalm (Ps. cxviii. 25 f.): Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed be the realm of our father David. Hosanna in the highest!

An age which had little comprehension for the historical

form of Jesus' life has objected to the character of this Messianic demonstration, and tried in every way to weaken it. Allusion is made to other ovations of a like kind, and even Renan speaks of a customary festivity which Jesus' followers prepared for Him, and which afforded Him an affecting gratification. Apologists meet this objection half way by assuming, on account of the discrepancies between John and the older tradition, that two entries took place, accompanied by the same formalities. But this is really another example how the older tradition is only made comprehensible by the report of the eye-witness. We have already convinced ourselves of the impossibility of Jesus having entered the city with the caravans only to see about Him, and then to set forth again towards Bethany (Mark xi. 11); and it is absolutely inconceivable that He Himself gave the signal for the ovation by commanding the foal of the ass to be brought, or that the crowds accompanying Him should have broken forth into jubilation merely because He mounted a beast of burden. His entry into Jerusalem upon an ass's colt was only significant when He who so came was greeted as the Messianic King; and John is undoubtedly correct when he says that people afterwards recognised in it the features of the procession of the King of Peace, which is described by Zechariah (John xii. 16). According to modern criticism, indeed, it was the fourth evangelist, to whom the idea of a Jewish Messiah was truly repugnant, who transferred the demonstration by Jesus' followers to the pilgrims to the feast, and who in addition represents Jesus as having mounted the ass in order to escape from the crowd. And yet it is this very evangelist who, exactly like the first one, has in view the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy (John xii. 14 f.; comp. Matt. xxi. 4 f.); and besides, he represents Jesus as being accompanied by followers who join in the jubilation of the approaching throng (John xii. 17 f.), which he evidently considers consisted of Galilean pilgrims, among whom were the greater number of Jesus' adherents.[1] It is

[1] According to John, the subject of conversation between the two parties was the act of raising the dead performed by Jesus; and at this point the account has been evidently guided by the significance which the evangelist attributed to this miracle. But he did not on that account regard the whole proceeding

only from his account that we can understand how the festive reception of Jesus was the cause of the whole scene; for if it be alleged that it was brought about by Jesus and His followers, then it loses all its significance, and becomes tainted with interested ostentation.

Great difficulty has been found in understanding how, when Jesus came to Jerusalem for the first time, He could have caused Himself to be brought from Bethany on the foal of an ass, as appears to be represented in the Synoptics, and as the opponents of the Fourth Gospel must assume. But even proceeding upon this assumption, Keim has absolutely failed to prove that Jesus was under an obligation to some well-to-do man, whether a friend or not, who put the animal at Jesus' disposition whenever He asked for it. This indeed is all that is meant, although criticism as well as apologetics has usually in view a miraculous foreknowledge on Jesus' part, which is by no means involved in Mark's account. Jesus sends two disciples to the village in order to loosen and bring to Him a colt which is tied there; He promises that no one will hinder them if they say that Jesus has need of it. Peter was probably one of the messengers, and he often described how they found the colt fastened at the door of the yard, on the path leading round the farm premises, and how it was handed over to them whenever they delivered their message (Mark xi. 1–6). If we ask how it was that Jesus got the colt when He saw the throng approaching,—for John only tells us that at the proper moment it was presented in accordance with a divine dispensation (John xii. 14),—we find in Mark an amply sufficient answer. His narrative does not presuppose any express argument with the owner, but it certainly assumes that the place was a farm-steading where Jesus and His disciples were well known. He had sent them back towards Bethany where He had just been passing the Sabbath, and He knew that the people there would willingly place at His

as a festive procession in honour of the miracle, as has been alleged; precisely as in the older Gospels, Jesus is here saluted by the people, not as a worker of miracles, but as King of Israel (xii. 13), and it is not improbable that the multitudes saw in the resurrection of Lazarus a reference to the revivifying of the nation, which they expected from the coming Messiah.

disposition a young colt which was not yet employed, and therefore could be spared.[1]

John's account is principally intended to show how this Messianic triumphal procession came to pass (John xii. 12–18), while the older narrative describes the joy of the multitude (Mark xi. 7–10). The impression made by this public entry on the hostile hierarchy must have been overwhelming. While they were decreeing that His place of abode should be sought out (John xi. 57), thinking that He would hereafter keep Himself concealed from them, Jesus entered Jerusalem surrounded by the whole people, and before their very eyes permitted Himself to be honoured as the Messianic King. Well may the Pharisees have gnashed their teeth and said: Behold how ye prevail nothing; lo, the world is gone after Him (John xii. 19). It even seems as if Jesus was asked how He could find satisfaction in such an ovation from an ignorant multitude. For the first evangelist has preserved one of Jesus' utterances which certainly does not refer, as his literal view causes him to assume, to the crying of children in the temple, but by a quotation from the Psalms (viii. 3) it justifies the pleasure which Jesus had in the hosannas of the young: Had not Jehovah Himself praise from the mouths of babes and sucklings, or, as Jesus would undoubtedly say according to the original text, does He not prepare strength? (Matt.

[1] Some have doubted whether Mark xi. 1 does refer to Bethany, for in order to describe the neighbourhood to his readers the evangelist mentions Bethphage along with it. To readers of the present day the hamlet of Bethany is certainly the best known, but according to the Talmud the adjacent Bethphage was the most important and populous of the two places, and this explains how it is that the first evangelist mentions it alone (Matt. xxi. 1). It is most uncritical to follow this plainly secondary account and think of Jesus as sending to Bethphage, a place in which we have never heard He had any acquaintances. The idea of a miraculous foreknowledge on His part could only be suggested by Luke's secondary narrative (Luke xix. 32), although even for it an agreement suffices which is not in itself inconceivable, for Jesus might easily foresee what took place at the entry, but yet is hardly probable, for the mounting on a colt does not look like an act long premeditated. Mark lays special emphasis on the ass, which Jesus sent for, not having been used by any one else, for the animals for holy purposes might only be those never previously employed (Num. xix. 2; Deut. xxi. 3). The first evangelist thought of the ass and its foal coming together, an idea which resulted from his incorrect apprehension of the passage in Zechariah, and from his assumption that the prophecy was to be literally fulfilled. But that he represents Jesus as mounting both animals is an ingenious fancy of Strauss, which even Keim does not hesitate to repeat.

xxi. 15 f.). And so, too, a remark preserved by Luke, which was addressed to the Pharisees who required from Jesus that He should prohibit His followers from engaging in such demonstrations, doubtless indicates the profoundest motive which led Jesus to acquiesce in their proclaiming Him the Messianic King. He had long refrained from the direct confession of His Messiahship in order not to encourage the political hopes of the people; and He was not aware that in a few days He would have an opportunity of solemnly acknowledging it in a very different way from this. But He certainly did not take these words, as Schenkel affirms, in a sense opposed to all the theocratic expectations in order to describe Himself as the founder of a new religious community. He desired to be the Messiah whom the people expected, although He would fulfil their expectations in a different way than they looked for. But if that were so, there had to come a moment when His people would acknowledge Him if only for an instant, and under assumptions which He could not agree to. The divine decree which had appointed His vocation, was only entirely verified when His people loudly acknowledged Him to be their Messiah. That was why Jesus, using Old Testament language (comp. Hab. ii. 11), said: I tell you that, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out (Luke xix. 39 f.).

CHAPTER IX.

THE TRIBUTE MONEY.

WE possess an undoubted tradition of what occurred on the first day of Jesus' appearance at the feast, although even after this He doubtless once again proclaimed the kingdom to the multitude assembled in Jerusalem, and exerted all His powers of persuasion to bring the people round to His view of the completion of salvation and of the methods by which it was to be realized.[1] Nevertheless, however, a narrative which Mark has preserved lets us see what impression Jesus had as to the result of His labours. We cannot suppose it possible that Jesus would come up to the feast with such solemnity, and then withdraw immediately to the retirement of Bethany; but it is quite certain that for many days He taught the people publicly in the porches of the temple (Mark xi. 18, xii. 35, 38; comp. xiv. 49; Luke xix. 47). Nor can there be any doubt that at night-fall He was in the habit of retiring either to Bethany or some village on the Mount of Olives where He had acquaintances, probably because He did not feel secure in Jerusalem, and wished to avoid a secret arrest (Mark xi. 19; Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 39).

[1] We have already seen that the purification of the temple, which the Synoptists relate at this point, cannot have occurred on this visit to Jerusalem (comp. vol. ii. p. 6); and, after having allowed Himself to be lauded as the Messianic King, the hierarchy could not ask in what authority He came (comp. vol. ii. p. 11, note). Even if we could fix the historical position of these passages, that would not affect the question of the Sadducees, or the discussion as to the greatest commandment and the Davidic descent. But these discussions offer nothing that is explanatory of the occurrences of these last days, and Mark evidently put them together from topical reasons, in order once more to place Jesus face to face with the different powers and schools among the nation (comp. vol. i. p. 48 f.). We can easily understand that the actual negotiations of that time have not been preserved by tradition, for the disciples themselves shared so deeply in the popular expectations that they listened with more or less deaf ears.

This explains how it was that He came into town with the disciples on Monday, the morning after His public entry. We are told that He hungered, and seeing a fig tree with luxuriant foliage by the wayside, He went up to it in the hope of finding fruit. It was indeed not yet the time of figs, for the early kind are, as a rule, not ripe before June; but as the fruit of the fig tree is generally formed before the leaves begin to appear, the premature foliage suggested also premature fruit. But the hopes raised were disappointed, and Jesus cursed the tree, saying: No man eat fruit from thee henceforward for ever (Mark xi. 12–14).

This treatment of a tree which did not appease His hunger, as Jesus had hoped, has been called an act of passionate revenge, and it has been regarded as a difficulty, that He who came to bless should now have cursed. Some have talked of the tree's guiltlessness, while others, in order to defend the narrative, have tried to demonstrate its guilt. But Jesus knew, as well as we do, that there is a regulation of nature, in accordance with which a tree bears fruit or not, depending neither on its guilt nor innocence. He saw in the green-leaved tree, which held out a deceptive prospect of fruit, a picture of Jerusalem, a picture of His people who, apparently animated by belief, had greeted Him with shouts of joy as the Messiah of Israel, but who now rejected Him when it was necessary to attest this faith and follow Him in the path of salvation. They had listened enthusiastically to His utterances, while they hoped that He would promise them the fulfilment of their desires; but coolness had been generated when He continued to insist on radical conversion, and made all salvation dependent upon the religious reanimation of the people. While Jesus spoke, bitter disappointment had shown itself in the countenances of His auditors; no, they would not have such a Messiah as this. But a nation was doomed to inevitable destruction which would not secure the salvation prepared by Jehovah in the way which He had designed. Jesus did not curse the nation; but in the metaphorical language which the old prophets loved, through the curse pronounced against the unfruitful fig tree, He prophesied the inevitable judgment coming upon the people. This judgment must necessarily overtake the nation if it did not bring forth

the fruit of faith in the Messiah, with the demonstrative declarations of which it had deceived Him.[1]

No doubt the priests perceived what was passing in the minds of the populace. They knew that if Jesus continued to act in this way, the newly kindled enthusiasm would be speedily extinguished, and the very opposite would take its place. They were now sure of success. All that was needed was to prepare the final blow, and a good way for doing so would be to accuse Him of open opposition to the legal enactments, if that were possible. A favourable opportunity for this was apparently offered by a chance occurrence. A young wife, perhaps only a betrothed bride, had been seized in the act of adultery; for betrothal was regarded as legally binding, and unfaithfulness to that as adultery. The punishment of this crime was death (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22), and for this particular case, death by stoning (Deut. xxii. 23 f.). While Jesus was sitting in the temple, teaching some people who had gathered round Him, the Pharisaic guardians of the law, with their legal theology, dragged the woman before Jesus, and asked what should be done to her (John viii. 2–5).[2] Vainly do they try to introduce into the question an artificial alternative which must involve Jesus in ruin notwithstanding any answer He may give. They are certain that His leniency to the worst of sinners will lead Him to protest against the law taking its course, and that,

[1] Blindly zealous of representing this narrative to be absolutely incredible, some have fastened on the way in which Mark xi. 13 proves that Jesus only found leaves on the fig tree, and have pronounced this to be absolutely meaningless. But those who do so fail to take into account that Mark did not intend, as the critics do, to accuse the tree; he only wished to give prominence to the fact that what was abnormal in the tree was not the want of fruit,—that was explained by the time of year,—but the premature foliage which promised fruit where none was to be found. If the people had repulsed Jesus from the first as their leaders had done, He would not now have required to prophesy that divine judgment. It was intended, moreover, that the disciples should know that this people which was even now applauding Him was in every way as bad as its leaders, and was doomed to the same destruction.

[2] This narrative is of quite a synoptic type, and its connection with the instructions given by Jesus in the temple and the nightly retreats to Bethany evidently points to these last days of the feast (John viii. 1 f.), but we do not know to whom we owe it. It is certain, however, that according to the testimony of the oldest MSS. it does not belong to John's Gospel. It interrupts the connection between vii. 52 and viii. 12, and can only have been introduced through inadvertence, as all unprejudiced critics must acknowledge.

they hope, will enable them to discover a rebel against the civil statutes; or if He should not take this line of action, they secretly expect that a wanton people will turn from such a zealot for the law.

Jesus did not vouchsafe an answer to these cunning questioners. He stooped down and appeared to be writing something on the stone pavement, showing that He would have nothing to do with them and their legal problems, just as on a former occasion He repelled the man who appealed to Him as arbitrator in a dispute about property (Luke xii. 13 f.). His purpose was to build up a new law in the hearts and lives of the people, and He had nothing to do with the statutes of the Old Covenant, in so far as they regulated legal relationships, as in this case where the question concerned a certain enactment of the Mosaic criminal code. But when the questioners became more pressing, Jesus seized on the law by which they had hoped to confuse Him, and put them all to shame. The statute which ordained the punishment of stoning, ordained also that the witnesses should be the first to raise a hand against the criminal, who owed his condemnation to their evidence (Deut. xvii. 7). There they now stood, those witnesses upon whose evidence Jesus was to pronounce a sentence of condemnation which was decreed by the law itself. But Jesus looked up at them and said—as if the question had concerned the execution of the sentence—He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her (John viii. 6 f.). If the law were to take its course, they must be prepared to begin the execution of the sentence. Could they do so? Did not the voice of conscience tell them all that they were sinners just as this woman was? Could they judge mercilessly without fearing that they would be brought before just such an uncompassionate tribunal, even though their sins were different from this woman's? It has been said that this principle of only those having a right to pronounce and punish who are conscious of complete innocence would put an end to the administration of justice. But those who say this overlook the fact that no one had summoned the officious questioners to judge this woman. The unconstrained intercourse between man and man is governed by other regulations than those civil laws which punish crime for its

own sake; in the one case, consciousness of personal sinfulness forbids what in the other is commanded by the transgression of the divine ordinance, and Jesus only deduced the natural inference of that saying which He had proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount as one of the statutes of the kingdom of God, which is ruled not by law, but by the humility and love which come from above: Judge not, that ye be not judged (Matt. vii. 1).

Again Jesus stooped to the ground and wrote. He wished to give the questioners, who were covered with confusion, time to leave. His words had struck home; conscience had conquered. When He looked up again, the woman alone stood in the midst of the breathless crowd. Where are your accusers? He asked. Did no man condemn thee?—referring, of course, not to the legal sentence, with which the complainants had not to do, but to the anticipation of that which they would have executed if they had declared themselves ready to stone her. "Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; from henceforth sin no more" (John viii. 8–11). He too did not stand before the woman as her judge; He retained only the right of admonition. In regard to this narrative, Hengstenberg has for once gone hand in hand with Keim in considering it doubtful. They have suggested a patronage of adultery, and an opposition to the law, destructive of all administration of justice. The opponents of Jesus understood Him better; they saw that they were beaten, and that their plan had failed. Only those who have depreciated the incalculable power of Jesus' personality and utterances can doubt that the consciences of these hypocrites could have been so far moved thereby.

This man with His crushing words could only be entrapped by more subtly designed plans; and to do this there was still one way. If they could not succeed in citing Him before the Council, they might perhaps make the Roman magistrates suspicious of Him. These new intrigues seem to have been artfully contrived in high places; for according to Mark it was the hierarchy who sent certain prominent Pharisees and Herodians to Jesus. This very choice shows what was now intended. Before the representatives of the party which had written upon its programme the old theocratic

principles, as well as before the adherents of the national kingdom, the Roman dominion might freely be spoken against. But we see from the flattering reference to His courage and honesty, as well as to His impartiality and His zeal for the execution of the divine will, that it was intended to draw some such expression from Jesus (Mark xii. 13 f.). It is commonly assumed, but incorrectly, that this was a dilemma in which they wished to involve Jesus. Since the days of Judas of Gamala it had been the shibboleth of all genuine patriots and theocrats that the Roman taxation was contrary to the divine law, and an infringement of the liberties of the chosen people. The pressure of a powerful despotism might enforce payment, and the people might refrain from open revolution so long as there was no prospect of that meeting with success; but no one could ever acknowledge the legality of a tax which was paid to another lord than Jehovah, the only Lord and King of the nation. The man who had so recently allowed Himself to be saluted as the pretender to the Messianic throne, and who was thus committed to the hopes of Israel as to the re-establishment and consummation of the theocracy, and indeed had offered Himself for their execution—this man could not possibly declare in favour of the legality of these taxations. Cleverly though He had hitherto kept His ulterior purposes in the background, and had refrained from mixing in politics, He must now be compelled to acknowledge His colours; and when that was done it would be an easy matter to denounce Him to the procurator as a follower of the Gaulonites. Underneath all this scheming was perhaps a hope that if Jesus, in regard to this question, endeavoured to take up a neutral position, He would forfeit the last sympathies of the people.

And so, when the plans were prepared, Jesus had the question propounded to Him: Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not? Shall we give or shall we not give? A rigid alternative is put before Him; theoretically and practically He must solve the great question which is burning in the heart of every devout Israelite. There would now be no evasion. But although the questioners represented themselves to be disturbed about this question, and to be seeking the solution of it from the great Teacher of divine wisdom,

that was only hypocrisy. What they really wished was to entrap Him in a snare, and this Jesus knew. Still, however, the usual idea is quite mistaken which supposes that Jesus evaded the question after all, and got Himself cleverly out of the dilemma. It has been said that He wished to show how the duty of a subject has nothing to do with divine right or with conscience; and He has been praised for the sharp distinction He drew between enforced civil duty and the religious duty of conscience, as if He had here solved the question as to the relation between Church and State. But the right about which He was asked was a divine right; Israel, like Jesus, knew no other. Jesus perceived that the crucial hour was now come, and He did not evade the question.

Why tempt ye me? This amazed question shows that His bearing hitherto had given them no reason to expect that He would pronounce in favour of a revolution; for the sense in which He had always laboured for the consummation of the theocracy had nothing in common with political Messianic ideals. Then ordering a denarius to be brought, and pointing to the stamp on the coin, which testified to the fact of imperial dominion, He deduced from that the natural legality of paying taxation, in so far as they only gave the emperor his own property—such as this coin which bore his image.[1] By placing the duty of a subject alongside duty to God, He takes the point from the deceptive alternative about which Jewish Radicalism boasted. He does not say directly that the duty of submissiveness is conjoined with duty to God, or limited thereby; but He indicates that the two are in nowise contradictory, but are equally incumbent. The kingdom of God, which He was come to complete, has nothing in common with the existing order of the world. What God requires and what will be paid there, can be demanded by no emperor, nor can it hinder the fulfilment of duty towards him (Mark xii. 15–17).

"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto

[1] He does not make this duty dependent on their having accepted these coins, but on the actual ordinance of God which controlled the present condition of things. He does not say that this ordinance will always remain the same, and that there is no hope of better days. He demands subjection to it so long as it continues to exist in accordance with the divine guidance which decrees even the unhappy lot of the chosen people.

God the things that are God's." With these words Jesus frustrated the plan of His enemies. They could not summon Him for treason before the Roman procurator. But He knew that with these same words He had pronounced His own sentence of condemnation. This was His final refusal to countenance a Jewish revolution. It was the destruction of all hopes of a political kingdom of the Messiah, and the people could never forgive such a bitter disappointment. His fate was sealed. Deserted by the people, He would surely fall into the hands of His enemies; from that very day the populace would turn from Him.

CHAPTER X.

ISRAEL AND THE GENTILES.

EARLY the next morning Jesus returned to the city. The road led past the fig tree He had cursed yesterday; its leaves were faded, the tree was withered. God had put His unmistakeable seal to Jesus' figurative prophecy, His miracle-working hand had touched the tree. No one should henceforth eat of it for ever (Mark xi. 19 f.).[1] Some expounders desire to honour Jesus by insisting upon this having been caused by a directly miraculous action, although our text says nothing that would afford ground for such a supposition, and it would rob Jesus of the great honour accorded Him by His Father through giving an answer without words to His prophecy. The old Rationalism contented itself with supposing that Jesus perceived the tree to be far gone in decay. Olshausen explained the circumstance by his "accelerated natural process," and modern criticism assumes that the origin of the legend can be clearly proved; it holds that the narrative is nothing else than the parable of the unfruitful fig tree transposed into history (Luke xiii. 6–9). A more abortive attempt it is hardly possible to conceive, for the whole point

[1] Mark represents Jesus as entering Jerusalem in the evening with the caravans, and he introduces the purification of the temple into the day following; his account of what occurred on that day is therefore delayed for twenty-four hours. According to him, the cursing of the fig tree took place on the first morning of Jesus' attendance at the feast, and its withered condition was observed on the second. The first evangelist, however, places the purification of the temple on the day of entry into the city, without considering that caravans leaving Jericho in the morning could not reach Jerusalem before evening, and Jesus certainly did not visit the temple then; he also represents the withering of the fig tree as taking place on the following morning immediately after the curse had been pronounced (Matt. xxi. 18–20). The want of critical acumen, which has led critics like Strauss and Keim to pronounce Matthew's account the original one, although so manifestly secondary, can only be explained by their prejudice in favour of Matthew and by their desire to show the evangelic narrative to be incredible.

of the parable is the respite accorded to the unfruitful fig tree, while the point of the narrative is the judgment which overtook the tree immediately. This is another case in which, if it is not assumed that Peter's reminiscences have had fiction introduced into them, we must necessarily regard this miraculous deed as historically attested.

In regard to this incident we do feel the want of any word of explanation from Jesus. But it does not follow that He was altogether silent, although Mark only introduces here a remark as to the power of faith, which he regards as explanatory of the course of events.[1] It is not improbable that to this place belongs what Luke in his effective way places alongside the jubilation of the entry into the city, although doubtless incorrectly; this is the weeping of Jesus over Jerusalem (xix. 41), over the town whose fate was united with that of the whole nation, and upon whose behaviour now, when all Israel was assembled there, the fate of the people more than ever depended. No doubt the words by which Jesus pointed prophetically to this approaching event have had impressed upon them the details of their fulfilment. But even if so, can these touching words be ascribed to a Gentile-Christian whose heart never beat for Jerusalem, and the tears of Jesus be regarded as an artificial imitation of the lamentations of David or Jeremiah? (2 Sam. xv. 30; Jer. xiv. 17): If thou hadst known—were it only on this thy day, that last day of grace which dawned upon Jerusalem when Jesus came up to this feast,—if thou hadst known the things which belong unto thy peace! Who could have invented this *aposiopesis*,

[1] We know this remark well (Mark xi. 23); according to the apostolic source it was uttered at the foot of the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 20), and it is only a fresh proof how far this evangelist was from thinking that Jesus by His own power caused the tree to wither. Confiding upon God, He pronounced the curse, and God never fails faith. To this utterance Mark has conjoined others from the oldest source (xi. 24–26; comp. Matt. vii. 7, v. 23, vi. 5, 12, xviii. 35), in order to show that it did not follow that in reliance upon God man can pronounce a curse upon his neighbour, for forgiveness is the presupposition of any prayer that may be granted. But the way in which Mark has effected this combination clearly shows that he himself arranged these remarks and connected them by xi. 21 f. with the traditionary narrative. Moreover, the exclamation of astonishment at what had occurred, which is attributed to Peter, may very probably have been preserved by tradition along with the narrative, for the answer by Jesus in xi. 22 presupposes a question as to how this had taken place.

in which the heart of Jesus, that is breaking with anguish of love, cannot bear to think of what might have been? It can no longer be said to be hidden from their eyes. Ruin is now inevitable; for Jerusalem has not perceived the last respite of His gracious visitation (Luke xix. 42–44). There is, in truth, no better commentary on the symbolism of the unfruitful fig tree which now stood withered before Jesus, than these prophetic descriptions of the Jerusalem presented to His spiritual vision—encompassed by enemies, destroyed and levelled to the ground.

But why do we seek for further explanations? If anything more of what the evangelists describe as having taken place during this last visit belongs of right to this connection, it is undoubtedly the parables which proclaim to Israel its heaviest punishment. That punishment was deprivation of its function as the nation through whom salvation for the whole world was to be mediated. Jesus devoted His life's work to retaining this vocation for the people, and had restricted His labour to them. But He had threatened once before that many of them should be excluded from salvation, and that the heathen should participate in their stead (Luke xiii. 28 f.). It was as a last effort to save the people that He had come up to the feast; although, if He did not succeed there, death alone was in prospect. The attempt did fail. And again Jesus, as His manner was, chose two parables to show what the inevitable result for the people must be.[1] Taking a quotation from the Old Testament prophets, in which the theocracy in Israel is represented under the figure of a vineyard (Isa. v.), He related how a vineyard was let out to husbandmen, who were to deliver the fruit of it to the owner. But it was in vain that the lord of the vineyard sent his servants time after time to demand his due. Instead of paying what they owed,

[1] The first evangelist clearly shows that the parable of the Vineyard and that of the Feast formed a parable pair in the oldest source, for after he has taken the first parable and even its historical conclusion from Mark (Matt. xxi. 33–46), he follows it up by the second (xxii. 1–14). Led astray by Mark and his allegorizing description of the first parable, he makes both refer to the hierarchy even although he has retained Jesus' explanation (xxi. 43), which exhibits beyond all doubt that the first parable referred to Israel and the Gentiles; precisely because it contradicts Matthew's explanation, it undoubtedly belonged to the oldest source.

these husbandmen seized the servants, ill-treated and then killed them. At last the owner sent his own son, in the hope that the most refractory vinedresser would submit out of respect to him. But even this attempt failed, and therefore the vineyard had to be taken from them and given to others (Matt. xxi. 33–37).

In Mark's Gospel this parable is made to refer to the hierarchy (Mark xii. 1, 12), and becomes an allegory of the slaying of the Messiah.[1] But it is evident that this allegorical enrichment and interpretation does not correspond to the character of the parable, nor did the circumstances suggest any probability that the husbandmen could hope to become possessors of the vineyard by slaying the heir. And Jesus assuredly never had in view the replacing of the existing hierarchy by a better, as this parable would seem to indicate (Mark xii. 9). Moreover, the application which Jesus Himself makes shows unmistakeably that the priests were not intended as rulers in the theocracy, but the people were looked upon as the supporters of it, and from them God demanded in vain the fulfilment of their theocratic duties. They even now refuse to yield the obedience which He requires of them through His Messiah. And therefore the kingdom of God in Israel is to be taken from them and given to a nation that will bear fruit (Matt. xxi. 43). The nations of the Gentiles are from henceforth to be the supporters of the kingdom of God (Matt. xxi. 43), and according to the measure in which they fulfil the divine will they will participate in the greatest blessings of the kingdom. But Israel is not only deprived of salvation, its behaviour to the Messiah condemns it positively to destruction. Taking a well-known

[1] After Mark describes the establishment of the vineyard, he introduces a reference to the priests by the way in which he represents the vineyard as being let out for a portion of the fruits; they were intended to take part in governing the theocracy, but instead of that they wished to wield a despotic power. After mentioning the long series of prophets whom God sent to His people, and who were shamefully treated by them, he describes in a manifestly allegorical way the sending of the Messiah, the beloved only Son, whom their passion for domination leads them to slay, because their authority seems to be endangered by Him (Mark xii. 1–8). The first evangelist has certainly taken this amplification of the parabolic figure from Mark, indeed he even represented the priests as themselves pronouncing judgment (Matt. xxi. 38–41), and thus it is impossible to recover the original conclusion.

figure from the prophets (Isa. viii. 14), Jesus alluded to the stone on which those who stumble shall be broken to pieces, but which shall crush those to powder on whom it falls (xxi. 44; comp. Luke xx. 18).[1] Because the Messiah, who was come for the salvation of the people, brings a command from God that they shall do everything that is indispensable for the attainment of it, His appearance must be of momentous importance *if* the nation does not respond to God's command. The very character of this parable showed that it did not proclaim an unalterable fate, but was only a threatening prophecy which the timely repentance of the people, either now or in days to come, might nullify. It is involved in the nature of the parable that it does not sketch a history, but exhibits a divine law through the regulations of natural life. The husbandmen must necessarily be discharged if they continue obstinate, and the same thing must happen to Israel. If Israel persists in disobedience, the Messiah, who came to save it, will become its judge, and the Gentiles will enter upon its inheritance. Long before the end came, Jesus looked forward to a time when the tidings of His exaltation by God's miraculous power would give the nation a last impulsion to conversion.

As is always the case in these parable pairs, another side of the same thought is treated of in the second parable: the Messiah does not only come with a demand, He also offers the people salvation. Jesus here connects what He has to say with a feast which He takes as the symbol of joy, and through that figure He describes common participation in supreme salvation (Matt. viii. 11): A certain householder prepared a feast; but the guests whom he first invited excused themselves from attendance because of the

[1] In this case, too, the first evangelist's account is the original one; Mark, following the leading of his master, Peter, substituted another quotation about the stone which the builders rejected, but which was selected by Jehovah to be the corner-stone (Ps. cxviii. 22 f.). This Mark did because of its suitableness for his allegorizing application to the hierarchy, which (in His being handed over to the Gentiles) rejected Him whom God (in the resurrection) had exalted to be Messiah (Mark xi. 10 f.). The first evangelist has taken this remark from Mark along with the original statement about the stone (Matt. xxi. 42), because it corresponded exactly with his didactic points of view to represent the ruin of the people as being brought about by the hierarchy (comp. vol. i. p. 67).

claims which domestic joys and sorrows had upon them. The master of the house then sent forth other messengers, and called in the people from the lanes and hedges, that the supper should not be prepared in vain. He only required that those who came to it should appear, as was seemly, in festive attire; and finding one man who had not arrayed himself fittingly, he caused him to be cast out. In the same way has Jehovah acted; by sending the Messiah He invites the people to participate in salvation, and if through absorption in temporal affairs they neglect the invitation, He will offer this salvation to the nations that are without. He must demand, however, that those who would be sharers in the consummation of the kingdom of God must exhibit a bearing worthy of the subjects of that kingdom. But as many of those who are more recently called will not do this, it is certain that many are called, but few are chosen, to share in the completion of salvation (Matt. xxii. 14). This easily understood parable was taken from the apostolic source, and it has been amplified in such an allegorizing way (Matt. xxii. 1–13; Luke xiv. 16–24), that in neither of the Gospels can we trace the original form,[1] though the common foundation may be restored after the amplifications suggested by the context are removed. Though without any justification, doubts

[1] The first evangelist also makes the parable refer to the hierarchy, but he adds,—what in the circumstances of the parable was perfectly impossible,—that some of the invited guests killed the messengers. And then, in order to make the allegory absolutely clear, he changes the master of the house into a king who sent forth his armies to slay these murderers and burn their city. The meal becomes the marriage-feast of his son, and according to a favourite Old Testament figure the union of the Messiah with His Church is here portrayed (Rev. xix. 7), beginning with the early meal to which at the founding of the kingdom of God the guests were invited by the Baptist and Jesus, so that the allegorizing interpretation finishes by putting the son and the servant on an equality. Ever and anon the parable passes into the interpretation when the good and bad are called, and the guest without the wedding garment is thrown into outer darkness (xxii. 10, 13). The evangelist Luke represents the parable as being spoken at a feast given by some Pharisees (Luke xiv. 1); he then interprets those who were first called to signify the Pharisees, and those who were summoned later to mean the publicans and sinners. In a truly Pauline way he represents the gaps caused by the failure of the first invited as being filled by the call of the Gentiles, so that the second portion of the parable was omitted.

have been raised as to the genuineness or appropriateness of the second portion of this parable. Certainly the wedding garment is not the freely-bestowed righteousness, as the older dogmatic exposition apprehended it to mean; for the alleged custom of presenting the guests with wedding garments cannot be demonstrated, and the man is not reproached with having despised the goodness of the host. But just as little is this requirement an expression of Judaic-Christian pretensions; it is the necessary correlative of the divine grace which offers salvation to every sinner, but is obliged to require that such grace shall produce improvement in character.

Jesus' ministry was not to terminate without His being once more vividly reminded of the future which these parables hinted at. We are told how on one occasion the people in the court of the Gentiles were thronging round the great prophet whose name in those days was upon every lip. Some Greeks, who had come to worship at the feast, had heard of Him so often that they wished to see this marvellous man. In answer to their inquiries they were directed to the disciples, by whom Jesus was constantly surrounded; and appealing to Philip, he procured them the gratification of their desire. This increasing interest in the Master, even among Gentiles, seemed to Philip so very extraordinary that he communicated the fact to Andrew, and then they both made it known to Jesus.[1] He regarded it as a sign that the hour of His glorification in the Gentile world was nigh. But in order that that might come, an end must be put to His earthly life; according to the counsel of God, that was designed for Israel, and was bound up with His ministry among His own people. Jesus gave expression to this truth in a genuinely synoptical parable: As a grain of wheat must be thrown into the earth that the blade may spring from it and ripe

[1] Of course we do not know whether their appeal to Philip was quite accidental, or was induced by any particular reason, or why it was that he spoke with Andrew, who also appears in company with him in chap. vi. 5, 8. But there can be no doubt that the usual supposition of the Greeks wishing to speak with Jesus, and of Philip getting Andrew to accompany him when he went to ask Jesus for permission, is totally opposed to the text, and only leads to an unfruitful inquiry as to whether Jesus gave His permission, or if not, why not? To all this our text gives no answer, for the simple reason that it knows of no such wish.

fruit be produced, even so His temporal life has to be given up to death, that His ministry may be extended over all nations (John xii. 20–24).[1]

Once more the thought of His death caused Jesus to lose heart (comp. Luke xii. 50). For one moment He wrestled with the genuinely human desire to implore the Father to deliver Him from this fate. But the wavering of natural feeling was speedily quieted by the thought of the divine destiny connected with His life, and He succeeded in presenting the petition that, come what might, God would glorify His own name. It was just at this moment that the roll of thunder was heard from the heavy clouds which had gathered above Jerusalem. There is no reason for supposing that this was any miraculous phenomenon, for the narrator distinctly says that the crowd heard nothing but a thunder-peal. But to the religious sense of the Israelites thunder had ever seemed to be the voice of God (comp. Ps. xxix.), and it now appeared to the followers of Jesus like a voice from heaven in which the Father through His angels gave the Son an answer. Jesus openly declared that He needed no such answer; for He knew that the Father was ever ready to hear Him (John xi. 42). But He rejoiced that they saw therein the confirmation of His having been heard, which the evangelist clothes in the words: I have glorified my name, and will glorify it again. Far above the horror of death, which had made Him tremble for an instant, Jesus could look towards the future, when in His apparent downfall He would celebrate a brilliant victory over the world and the devil; and when exalted to God, and no longer fettered by earthly limitations, He would with irresistible power draw humanity to His holy mountain (John xii. 27–32). It has been supposed that the hypothesis of invention is more than suggested by a scene like this, the inducing cause of which is drawn so sketchily

[1] The evangelist here introduces a saying from Matt. x. 39, and adds to it the genuinely synoptic promise that disciples who approve themselves by such sacrifice of their lives shall be sharers in His heavenly glory, and their self-abasement shall be changed into honourable elevation (John xii. 25 f.). There is little probability that the sayings belong to this connection, but certainly the addition of them was actuated by the correct reminiscence, that in connection with the announcement of His death Jesus also spoke of the suffering His disciples would meet with (comp. p. 80, note).

that, down to the present day, the most various meanings have been read into it; and yet the mention of the names of the apostles seems to show that it rests upon reliable reminiscences. Here in the well-known synoptic parable form, Jesus assumes the connection of His earthly ministry with Israel, and reserves the calling of the Gentiles for the time of His exaltation; He is genuinely affected by the thought of death, and conquers His distress through prayer; and, moreover, we find a naive distinction drawn between a natural phenomenon and the religious view of it. But in spite of all this, the criticism which is antagonistic to John makes a great deal of this passage, and yet it has only succeeded in proving that the idea of John's Gospel being simply a fictional work in which synoptic material is employed, is psychologically impossible.[1]

The multitude round Jesus was greatly offended that one who had allowed Himself to be hailed as the Messiah should make unmistakeable reference to His death and the end of His earthly activity. They only knew of a Messiah who, in accordance with prophecy, should establish an everlasting kingdom which would necessitate His remaining upon earth. Jesus was of course not in a position to explain this contradiction between the fulfilment and the promise. The coming days would only too surely give the explanation. The Messiah who was rejected by the people at the instigation of its leaders could not establish the kingdom as the prophets had conceived of it. Jesus had therefore to content Himself with warning

[1] It has frequently been said that the great Logos philosopher of the second century combined the synoptic account of the transfiguration, which seemed to him too coarsely sensuous, with the scene in Gethsemane, which hardly suited better to his Logos ideas, in order to idealize the one, and if possible weaken the other. But if the glorification of Jesus in death is the idea of this fiction, then the appearance of the Greeks and the voice of God were quite superfluous. Moreover, the Greeks could not be the antitype of Moses and Elias, who said nothing about the calling of the Gentiles, and the appearance of angels is not idealized by being changed into thunder—it is naturalized. To the divine Logos in human form any such human agitation, however mild it may be, is perfectly impossible and entirely inexplicable, even though the death which produces it is doubly represented as His glorification. But a combination of the angel whom the believers imagine they hear speaking in the thunder, with the angel who, according to Luke, strengthened Jesus in Gethsemane, is a witticism, but not a conceivable fiction.

the people to employ wisely the short time still remaining. Already the threatening darkness was gathering in which they were to perpetrate the most frightful crime in the history of the world—a crime that would at the same time be its own judgment. If the path of salvation was to be found out of this overwhelming destruction, it could only be by following the light which pointed to it (John xii. 34–36).

It is impossible that this could be Jesus' farewell to the people, as has been supposed, from the fact that John here closes his account of the public ministry. His exhortations would have been in vain if He had not made another attempt to rescue the people by once more giving them their choice between Himself and their deceivers. That Jesus did this is attested by the Synoptists.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INVOCATIONS OF WOE.

FOR the last time, Jesus trod the courts of the temple, through which surged the excited multitudes. The mass of the people, who had lately greeted Him with such enthusiasm that they had appeared to belong to the number of His followers, was beginning already to separate from the inner circle of His disciples, who were not so easily swayed as the disappointed multitude. It is expressly stated that Jesus gathered such men round Him, although of course there was no hard and fast line drawn between them and the great mass of the people, of whom many still loved to hear the great Rabbi speak, especially when He hurled the thunderbolts of His eloquence against His enemies. And in truth the hour in which He could do this had come; every prudential consideration had to be set aside after it was seen that the final catastrophe was inevitable and nigh at hand. It was certainly not His object to obtain a weak satisfaction by effecting the intellectual overthrow of those who were preparing His earthly downfall. His real aim was once more to give the people, and particularly His disciples, the choice between Himself and their former leaders, and to paint for them, in flaming colours, the features of those seducers of the nation, led by whom the multitude would soon abandon Him. For although most of the people at the present feast were on the side of His opponents, Jesus looked far into the future, when new divine deeds should call them to make a new decision. When that time came, the words, which imprinted themselves indelibly on their memories now, would return with new power to facilitate their separation from the hierarchy and its sycophants who had murdered their Messiah. That the disciples and the people, as well as His opponents, were directly addressed in this discourse, appears from more

than one passage, and even in the transition from direct address to invocations of woe, which must therefore be apprehended as rhetorical apostrophes.[1]

Jesus began in highly drastic fashion by again describing to His disciples those universally honoured paragons of virtue—the Pharisees. He knew well that the sect had formerly seen better days; but in their present condition the garment of unspotted virtue, with which they knew how to drape themselves in such a masterly way, consisted not in true purity of morals, but in a punctilious observance of mere external laws of purity, whose value is that they are types and symbols of purity of mind and life. They keep clean the outside of cups and vessels with most painful conscientiousness (comp. Mark vii. 3 f.), but they do not concern themselves as to whether their contents are soiled by the sin which acquired them by open robbery, or by the avarice which has no respect for justice, and which is withheld by no feeling of love from stretching forth the hand to grasp the property of a neighbour. Even here Jesus rhetorically apostrophized the blind Pharisees, who would not perceive that even the outside could only be truly clean—that is to say, as in God's sight—when it had been carefully looked to that the inside of the cup was not stained by unjust acquisition (Luke xi. 39–41; comp. Matt. xxiii. 25 f.).

He then proceeded to denounce a threefold woe against them. His general censure was immediately followed by condemnation of their observance of trifles, which made them

[1] Mark has preserved the recollection of the warning against the scribes which Jesus addressed to the people at the close of His teaching in the temple (Mark xii. 38-40). Following his example, the first evangelist was doubtless right in adding here the invocations of woe from the apostolic source, which, being conjoined with no story of suffering, could only be introduced categorically, and were most likely taken over by Luke in their original context (xi. 39–52; Matt. xxiii.). In the apostolic original the words must have been addressed to the disciples of Jesus; for only in that case could there be any meaning in the express mention of the disciples, after the multitudes whom he had found spoken of in Mark's account (Matt. xxiii. 1); and because as usual he understood the Twelve by the disciples, he added, with special reference to them, some sayings whose original context we have already indicated (Matt. xxiii. 8–12; comp. p. 117 ff.). Judging by the contents, Luke is again correct in maintaining that the denunciations of woe were originally uttered with reference to various people; whereas the first evangelist, in his usual way, presumed that they referred entirely to the scribes and Pharisees as the enemies of Jesus.

most particular about such matters as tithing the smallest garden produce, while they neglected to fulfil the command of law to execute just judgment and to practise mercy and truth. Jesus has nothing whatever to say against the most scrupulous observance of the command to pay tithes (comp. vol. ii. p. 165), for which they can always find justification in the letter of the law (Lev. xxvii. 30; Deut. xiv. 22); but He demands as complete an observance of the moral as of the ceremonial law; and He likens attention to the one and neglect of the other to "straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel" (Luke xi. 42; comp. Matt. xxiii. 23 f.).[1] The second woe animadverts upon their combined pride and piety, which makes them vaunt their zeal for God's law by broadening their phylacteries and enlarging the borders of their garments.[2] For such qualities they deem themselves entitled to the chief seats at feasts and in the synagogues, and they delight to receive respectful greetings in the markets, where every one will see how they are honoured, and how they are addressed as Rabbi, Rabbi (Luke xi. 43; comp. Matt. xxiii. 5–7). In His Sermon on the Mount Jesus had censured their ostentatious piety without naming them, but now He reprimanded them directly for becoming slaves to low ambition with their ostentatious exhibitions of piety. The third woe merely shows the consequence of the two which preceded it. A pretentious piety, which overlooks that which is of chief importance while rigidly attending to mere accessories, is vain hypocrisy. He had formerly exposed their hypocrisy in a single instance (Mark vii. 6), but He now characterized their whole personality in like manner. On the fifteenth day of the month Adar the sepulchres were annually whitewashed to mark them as impure places, from which it was well to keep at a distance.

[1] The Jews actually used to strain their wine that they might not by chance swallow an unclean animal (comp. Lev. xi. 42). The axiomatic reference to the camel at once recalls the saying in Mark x. 25.

[2] The phylacteries were strips of parchment inscribed with portions of the law, which were fastened on the left hand and on the brow during prayer, in literal obedience to the command which inculcated on the Israelites that they should always wear the law on their left hand and on their forehead for a memorial (Ex. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18). The *tsîtsith* was formerly mentioned in Matt. ix. 20, and it served the same purpose (comp. vol. ii. p. 175, note).

This whitewashing process gave them a pleasant appearance which contrasted strongly with the dead men's bones and uncleanness within, just as the moral condition of the Pharisees contrasted with their outward appearance of zeal for righteousness. Jesus used this metaphor as a final brand to stigmatize the complete hypocrisy of the Pharisees. They were nothing but whited sepulchres, notwithstanding the adornment of their garment of hypocritical virtue (Luke xi. 44; comp. Matt. xxiii. 27 f.).[1]

After saying this, Jesus turned to the scribes. In their case He recognised fully that He had no fault to find with their teaching in so far as they were and desired to be nothing but successors of Moses, whose duty it was to announce the commands of God.[2] But by endeavouring to interpret, apply, and enlarge the law of God, which as such Jesus literally held to (Matt. v. 17), they had surrounded it with a cluster of invented traditions, and laden it with burdens grievous to

[1] It is clear that the oration began by denouncing the Pharisees, after mentioning their habit of keeping clean the outside of the cup and platter (Luke xi. 39–44). Had this careful observance not been unduly prominent, Luke would hardly have considered such an oration in keeping at a dinner in a Pharisee's house (xi. 37 f.). The first evangelist has, as in vi. 19–34, x. 17–33, placed the second part of the discourse at the beginning, because Mark has chiefly indicated the scribes as those against whom Jesus addressed His warning; but seeing that he had added the Pharisees at the beginning, he immediately follows the first woe pronounced against them (Matt. xxiii. 2-4) by the second woe coupled with a passage borrowed from vi. 1. By that means it is separated from the part of the sermon which refers without doubt to the Pharisees alone (xxiii. 23–28), in which, besides, the first woe is placed before the explanation, because the evangelist saw an analogy between the punctiliousness regarding trifles, which was censured there, and the formerly discussed casuistry of the law. He has as usual, however, preserved the original text more carefully than Luke, who, with his customary free reproduction, removes the antithesis to the beginning, while he contrasts the outside of the platter with the heart of man, introduces his favourite injunction to give alms in a likely enough way, leaves out allusions which would be quite incomprehensible to his Gentile readers, and makes quite a different application of the metaphor of the sepulchres.

[2] The subject of remark is not that they presumed to occupy the place of Moses. Jesus uses the customary formula for the successors of a Rabbi who carry on his school. It is incomprehensible how Keim can regard this acknowledgment as contradictory of their subsequent condemnation. He says that Jesus' main thought was good and beautiful and wise, but that He effected the very opposite of what He wished because he did not guard against human indignation. This, however, is neither the first nor the last time in which the dogma of a powerful school was pure and orthodox, whilst the lives of its professors did not correspond with it.

be borne, which they themselves would not touch with one of their fingers. Thus their practice did not agree with their precept. While they oppressed the people with the unlimited number of their legislative commands, they themselves led a comfortable life in the unapproachable heights of their learned darkness,—a life which could in no way bear the application of the standard of their own precepts. According to Mark, Jesus could even reproach them with devouring widows' houses, while for a pretence they made long prayers (Mark xii. 40). We do not know to what this refers; but it would appear that those who were thoroughly conversant with spiritual matters, undertook, on receipt of good payment, to make intercession for widows; and thus they made their long prayers a pretext for appropriating the property of these poor women, until they had "entirely devoured their houses." Truly a beautiful fulfilment of the law which takes up the cause of widows so frequently and so humanely! (comp. Deut. xvi. 11, 14, xxix. 26, 12 f., xxiv. 17, 19, xxvii. 19; then comp. Ex. xxii. 21 ff.). The people were to be guided by their words but not by their works, and were to follow their precepts but not their manner of life, for they did not practise what they taught (Matt. xxiii. 2–4).

Again, Jesus denounced a threefold woe against these mercenary false guides of the people. Let their teaching be ever so orthodox, it was a palpable fact that they shut the door of the kingdom of God, which is entered by true repentance, against the people who were satisfied with attending to the outward observance of the law, inculcated on them. They did not enter the kingdom themselves; and when those who professed to be the true guides actually hindered the people from entering the one way of salvation, abundant proof was afforded that they were false guides (Matt. xxiii. 13; comp. Luke xi. 52). Moreover, they did not limit their exertions to their own people, but they undertook distant journeys to make proselytes; and lastly, they were not concerned about the welfare of souls, but were merely anxious to extend their own influence. Experience proved, what Jesus said, that their converts were doubly ruined, because the spiritual ignorance in which they were kept made the proselytes doubly incapable of receiving the

truth, and because the sacrifice, which their change of views entailed on them, made them the worst fanatics of the newly adopted system. Jesus' second woe was directed to this destructive proselytizing (Matt. xxiii. 15). In the Sermon on the Mount He had made indirect use of a parable (Luke vi. 39), but in the third woe He directly characterized the scribes as blind guides, and showed their blindness by their senseless casuistry on the subject of oaths, because that was the very point where they undermined the religious life of the people, and that in its most fundamental principles, while professing to further it. Thus, when the sanctity of the oath is abandoned instead of being sacredly guarded, the conscience is blunted when it should be rendered more acute. They measured the binding nature of the oath by the value of that by which they swore, and forgot that it was only possible to swear by the gold of the temple, or the gift on the altar, because the temple sanctified the gold, and the altar the gift, and therefore on account of all which was included, the oath which was taken on these lesser things was equally binding. Indeed, the temple itself derived its sanctity from Him who dwelt there; so here also Jesus taught, as before in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 34), that every oath, whether directly or indirectly, was taken in God's name. Hence, their whole casuistry on the subject of the oath was foolishness (Matt. xxiii. 16–22).[1]

[1] Thus the three woes (Matt. xxiii. 13-22; ver. 14 is a spurious addition from Mark) were connected with the introductory remarks on the scribes, just as the three woes invoked on the Pharisees were connected with the description of their characteristics which, according to Luke xi. 39 ff., was not preceded by a woe; these culminated in the prominence given to blindness and folly, even as prominence was given in the others to hypocrisy. The purport of the passage evidences so clearly that the one part referred to theoretical and the other to practical men, that the way in which the woes were dispensed to scribes and Pharisees is certainly no mere artistic touch of Luke's own. He has omitted the last two woes, which referred to circumstances unknown to his readers, and has transposed the first woe, which contained the severest reproach, to the end, though he has not done so without explanation (xi. 52). Nevertheless, he has also recorded three woes against the teachers of the law, omitting that which would be inapplicable to his Pauline readers unfettered by the law; he has taken the first and introduced from the introduction of this part (xi. 46) the seventh in the middle of it (xi. 47–51), which in the original, as his own version shows, was not addressed to and had no reference to them. Of course, Luke himself effected the transition from the first to the second part.

The seventh woe does not name those to whom it refers, but it characterizes them. Without doubt Jesus meant the rulers themselves, because a sect like the Pharisees or an order like the scribes could not build the tombs of the prophets which were shown at Jerusalem, nor set up elaborate monuments to the mighty men of the Old Covenant; that was assuredly no private matter. These official marks of honour were intended to suggest: If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we should have taken no part in the murder of the prophets. Thus the present generation would fain wash itself clean from the blood-guilt of the past, which must rest on it, till expiated by genuine conversion. But at this very time the rulers are planning how to draw down on the people the most frightful of all blood-guiltiness. Jesus therefore attacks their hypocritical language with terrible irony: They are always speaking of their fathers, and as regards thought and action they are truly the very children of those murderers of the prophets; more than that, they will yet fill up the measure of the guilt of their fathers. It is a profound thought of Holy Writ that punishment does not come till sin has reached its climax, and is ripe for judgment; and that punishment may reach them—His murderers—they must finally throw off the mask and reveal themselves as sons worthy of their fathers. God Himself will give them the opportunity. Jesus did not speak expressly of the murder of the Messiah, because even after this the message of salvation was to be offered to the people and their leaders in the name of the risen Lord. In His apostles He would send them new prophets, wise men and scribes, of a different description from those before whom the people had hitherto been accustomed to bend; and them they would pursue to the death, just as their fathers had acted to the prophets. Then the measure would be full; for as a repentant generation expiates the faults of its ancestors, an unrepentant generation must receive its full punishment. On them would come all the innocent blood which had been shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, who had been slain by the command of King Joash between the temple and the altar. As Abel's blood cried out to heaven (Gen. iv. 10), this Zacharias also called down the vengeance of God on his

murderers (2 Chron. xxiv. 20–22). That would all come on this generation, who had filled up the measure of the guilt of their fathers on the Messiah and His messengers (Matt. xxiii. 29-36; comp. Luke xi. 47–51).[1]

It was a momentous instant. Jesus had revealed the defects and crimes of the ruling schools with fearful eloquence and intuitive insight, and had invoked the chastisement of God on the hierarchy which was hatching its murderous plans against Him. He already foresaw how fearfully that punishment would be inflicted in the last Jewish war; He saw also that it would not be confined to the hierarchy, but would be necessarily shared in by the whole nation, and by its capital Jerusalem, the proudly built city, which was loved by every true son of Israel as the apple of his eye. The holy anger of Jesus passed into sorrow as He thought of it, and He finished His address with a heart-stirring apostrophe to its inhabitants: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! With a beautiful simile from the prophets (Isa. xxxi. 5) He describes the anxious fidelity with which He has ever and anon sought the inhabitants of Jerusalem; but to the loving warmth of His desire they had opposed the coldness of their unwillingness. Now, their house, once the city of a great king (Matt. v. 35), in which Jehovah Himself had dwelt, is left to them desolate; for Jehovah withdraws His protection and blessing from them after the murder of the Messiah. What will then become of them Jesus does not say; the tears He shed over Jerusalem (Luke xix. 41) told that long ago. A day will yet come in which God will

[1] Here also the first evangelist has recorded the discourse in a more original form, although xxiii. 33 is evidently transferred from iii. 7; the prophecy xxiii. 34 more minutely specializes that in x. 17, 23, and the appellation of Zacharias as the son of Barachias (instead of Jehoiada), refers to another Zacharias, the son of Baruch, who was murdered in the last Jewish war by the zealots (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 6. 4). On the other hand, because Luke did not rightly understand the irony in xxiii. 31 f., he has given a somewhat inappropriate turn to it (xi. 47 f.); and, because he understood Jesus to mean the prophets of the Old Testament, he gave the following prophecy as proceeding from the wisdom of God, which announces its decree in regard to both the Old and New Testament times (xi. 49 ff.).

again appear to His people in His Messiah; but whether that day dawns for their salvation, will depend on whether they come to meet the returning Messiah with rejoicing as His followers had done when He entered the city a few days before, saying (Mark xi. 9), Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. If they have not then turned from the error of their ways, they shall be irretrievably ruined in the judgment which will precede His coming, and shall never see Him again (Matt. xxiii. 37–39).[1] This destruction may yet be warded off by true repentance; but the light of this hope flickered weaker and weaker; and in His prophecies of the future it seemed to Jesus as good as extinguished.

After this Jesus left the temple for ever, and went with His disciples to the Mount of Olives. It was the Wednesday before the feast, two days before the Passover; and on the evening of that day the rulers met together, to begin their work of diabolical wickedness (Mark xiv. 1). That was their response to the denunciations of woe.

[1] It is evident that these were Jesus' farewell words to the people. Luke has coupled them with a combination of nearly connected ideas (xiii. 33), but in that way has made them almost incomprehensible (xiii. 34 f.). In the source they doubtless formed the conclusion of the discourse which contains the denunciations of woe, for they form quite an analogous apostrophe; but Luke could not represent Him as uttering them at the feast in the Pharisee's house (comp. p. 254, note).

CHAPTER XII.

PROGNOSTICATIONS.

AT a turn of the road before the Mount of Olives was reached, Zion with its splendid buildings lay once again in full view of Jesus and His disciples. The spectacle must have been wonderfully beautiful, for even the Roman historian broke forth in ecstasy over it (comp. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 8). The ravished eyes of the disciples beheld the large blocks of white marble, richly ornamented with gold, with which the extravagant Herod had built the temple itself, and the forecourts with their gates and halls rose in terraces before them. One of their number could not refrain from expressing his admiration of the scene, and called Jesus' attention to it. The Master, however, was wrapped in thought. Again bidding His disciples take a good look at all this splendour, He added: There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down (Mark xiii. 1 f.).[1] He was looking towards the impending crisis, with whose annihilating stroke He had just been threatening the hierarchy. The judgment of God on the people who had rejected His Messiah would also be visited

[1] Even a critic like Keim has quite lost his presence of mind with regard to doubts of this prophetic utterance. It is said that the Jewish-Christian writer of the Apocalypse, in view of the approaching end, hoped for the preservation of the actual temple (Rev. xi. 1 f.). But if so, it is all the more incomprehensible why Mark, writing about the same time, should ascribe this prophecy to Jesus, or if he wrote later, why the prophecy which he formulated should contain no mention of what actually occurred; for the fact is that the temple was destroyed by fire and not by the hand of man. We must hold, therefore, that this interpretation of the apocalyptic passage takes its rise in a misconception of its figurative language, and in no way closes the door against Jesus' prophecy. Even Stephen was accused of having spoken of a destruction of the temple by the Nazarene (Acts vi. 14); and certainly not without foundation, for he had this prophecy to go on, for which no magical clearness of vision on Jesus' part, such as Weisse speaks of, was necessary.

destructively on the form of worship which was so closely bound up with its national life. The fall of the temple, which formed the central-point of the nation, was to Jesus the direct absolution of God's worship from all the bonds of time and nationality (John iv. 21); it was indeed the divinely appointed way for completing this kingdom of God in which He was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. This way, moreover, would lead to that fearful fate which His people were bringing on themselves, and of which He had spoken in His last sermon.

According to Mark, Jesus seated Himself on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, and continued to gaze on the temple, whose magnificence only spoke to Him of its fearful destruction. None were with Him save Peter, James, John, and Andrew, and they asked Him when this terror should come, and what should be the sign of its approach (Mark xiii. 3 f.). In this place the evangelist inserts a grand prophetic declaration by Jesus, which was doubtless given in the apostolic source, and indeed, as its conclusion shows, was intended to describe a sign by which they might recognise the approach of the end (Matt. xxiv. 32 f.). It only required the close relationship into which Jesus' prognostications brought the catastrophe of His people to His own return, to make the signs at the conclusion of His speech appear as tokens of the end in this sense also.[1] The truth is, however, that this sermon contains a complete answer to the question of the disciples whenever we proceed critically to restore its original form, and divest it of the form and application which our evangelists have given to it (see note). Jesus also indicated the pseudo-Messianic sensation as a cause for, and forewarning of, the overthrow of the Old Testament theocracy (Mark xiii. 6). Naturally He could only speak in His picturesque and con-

[1] For this reason the first evangelist represents the disciples as asking directly for a sign of the advent and of the end of the world (Matt. xxiv. 3), although it was impossible for them simply to assume what Jesus had first revealed to them in this discourse. Mark from the first understood the words as a warning not to expect the advent too soon, because in the times of the apostles this warning was required time after time. At the beginning of the address as given in his Gospel (comp. particularly xiii. 5, 7) the conclusion is thus anticipated, and the later evangelists have naturally borrowed it from him. We can only see the original introduction of these prophetic utterances in the express prophecy contained in Mark xiii. 6, 8 f. (Matt. xxiv. 5, 7 f.).

crete way of the appearance of those who would falsely pretend to be the Messiah, although it has been stated to His detriment, that these pseudo-Messiahs did not appear before the destruction of Jerusalem. But this description was in truth thoroughly borne out by the character of the last Jewish war which caused the overthrow of that unhappy nation. The people who had rejected the true Messiah, because He did not accord with their expectations, tried towards the close of the year 66 to force the fulfilment of their hopes by their own strength. Jesus knew that it would come to that sooner or later, and that the destruction of the Jewish state and its independent national life would thus be brought about. Luke has preserved the form in which Jesus added a more particular explanation to this clear prediction (Luke xxi. 10): How often had little Palestine been the plaything of the surrounding powers, who made it the scene of their contest and dragged it with them to ruin; but, according to God's decree, even all that could not accomplish its final destruction. Nation might rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, there might be famines and pestilences such as always follow in the train of war, and nature might spread desolation over the unhappy land and terrify the people with earthquakes in divers places; but all that could only be the beginning of the end which this people would finally prepare for themselves (Matt. xxiv. 7 f.).[1]

[1] The oldest source may have designated all these terrors, according to the Jewish way of speaking, as the beginning of the sorrows from which the new Messianic epoch was to spring, although the Apocalypse afterwards described them as the first auguries of the end; but if such were the case it was an anticipation of the thought which Jesus first developes in the subsequent address. In any case the following prediction of the fate of the disciples was first reported by Mark (Mark xiii. 9–13), who here inserted into a prophecy from the apostolic source (Matt. x. 17–22; comp. Luke xii. 11 f.) a reflection which is not in its right place, to the effect that the disciples, instead of waiting in restless expectation to look on the great events of the world, should rather prepare themselves to maintain a right demeanour under the persecutions which were so imminent. The first evangelist has formed from this a new series of tokens (Matt. xxiv. 9–14), and Luke has premised that these persecutions, which in his time were of long standing, were to precede the tokens of the end (Luke xxi. 12–19); but both the first evangelist and Luke, without being aware of it, have only given another free rendering of Mark's elaboration of an oration which they had already made use of. Only the most incompetent critics can possibly regard this as the real essence of the discourse on the advent.

This end was immutably sealed whenever the Jewish revolutionary war broke out. The balance might still tremble for a time, and a fanatical people might still perform marvellous feats of heroism, even though it only carried on its banner a gloomy travesty of its highest religious hopes; but it was God's decree, and not the might of the Roman legions, though they might be used as instruments, which would finally cause its overthrow. Jesus clearly foresaw this; and that was why He commanded His disciples to take to flight whenever the abomination of desolation—as He named it, borrowing the expression from Daniel (Dan. xii. 11), *i.e.* the devastating army of the Gentile Romans —should set foot on the soil of the Holy Land. It would not do then to lull themselves with delusive hopes, nay rather, as He says in His picturesque way, they would have to flee straight from the house-tops, leaving everything behind them, and go right from the fields to the mountains on the other side of Jordan. Woe to them on that day whose bodily state or maternal duties would hinder flight! But they should pray only that their flight be not in the winter, when roads and weather would be against them, nor on the Sabbath, when religious scruples (comp. vol. ii. p. 170) would perhaps only permit of their going a short distance (comp. Acts i. 12). The tribulation of the approaching days would be unprecedented, and if the prayers of the elect did not shorten them, the whole nation would be exterminated (Matt. xxiv. 15–22). This prophecy does not contain the slightest trace of having been constructed according to the issue of events.[1] Indeed, the subject under discussion here is not even the destruction of Jerusalem, although expounders for the most part

[1] The version of this address in the first Gospel is the only one which, with its long list of signs, gives the slightest support to the idea of an "apocalyptic reckoning for the future." But still it is quite as incomprehensible how any one could see in this genuine kernel of the great speech on the second coming a tiny Judaic or Jewish-Christian apocalypse, or else a "flying leaf" from the year 67, inserted by the evangelist. Vain attempts have been made to connect the abomination of desolation with some special occurrence in the later history, but the critics themselves are not at one as to whether this pretended *vaticinium post eventum* referred to the time of Titus or to the time of Hadrian. Luke has shown indeed what interpretation was alone possible in his day; but even he goes beyond the purport of the words when he refers them to the siege of Jerusalem (xxi. 20), when, besides, it was for many of them too late to flee.

speak with the greatest decision about it; and the destruction is also alluded to repeatedly by the later evangelists (comp. Matt. xxii. 7; Luke xxi. 24). The laying waste of the Holy Land by Gentile armies appears as an odious crime, although, quite in the manner of the Old Testament prophets, it is represented as the scourge of God's judgment on the land; and the prayer of the elect, which makes the salvation of a "remnant" of the people possible, as well as having the power to shorten the days of tribulation, reminds us of prophetic utterances in times of trouble (Isa. i. 8 f.). The description of these days of terror, however, preserves the picturesque entirety indispensable to genuine prophecy.

The greatest stumbling-block in this incident has always been that Jesus promised to return immediately after the tribulation of these days (Matt. xxiv. 29 f.), when as a matter of fact He has not returned up to the present time. All attempts to twist or extend the meaning of the inexorable *immediately* have been vain; even the later evangelists regarded it as impossible (Mark xiii. 24), and inserted retarding clauses (Mark xiii. 21–23; comp. Matt. xxiv. 23–28); indeed, Luke has introduced extensive periods of Gentile dominion between the destruction of Jerusalem and the advent (xxi. 24). These facts make it all the more certain that we have here a genuine and indisputable tradition, whose very difficulty protects it from any suspicion of containing later additions. In order to get rid of this difficulty, an exegesis, which pretends to belief in the text, has managed to apply to the spiritual distress occasioned by Antichrist all that is here mentioned, even the abomination of desolation on holy ground, the escape from Judea, the flight over fields and roofs, and the difficulties of those with little ones. On the other hand, however, some expositors have taken what follows for a series of magnificent pictures of the judgment of Christ which was to be accomplished in the destruction of Jerusalem, and was to bring in its train the spread of the gospel among the nations; but here, as in the former case, all such efforts are rendered futile by the clear sense of the words. The first evangelist probably wished to indicate to his readers that the sign of the return (Matt. xxiv. 30) might be seen in the appearance of

the Son of Man, prophesied by Daniel (vii. 13); and it is beyond doubt that Jesus also spoke elsewhere of His last return in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory, accompanied by God's angels (Mark xiv. 62; Matt. xxv. 31). The whole of Old Testament prophecy is pervaded by terrible predictions of signs in the heavens which shall announce the coming of the last great day of Jehovah (Joel ii. 10; Isa. xiii. 10, xxxiv. 4; Zeph. i. 15; Hag. ii. 6, 21). In order to leave no doubt whatever, Jesus adds to these very prophecies the statement that the end of the world in its present form shall be brought about on His return (comp. Matt. xix. 28). When sun and moon lose their light, and the firmly fixed order of the universe is shaken (Matt. xxiv. 29), then comes the end, as Luke doubtless understood aright (xxi. 25 f.). On that account, there is not the slightest support for the suspicion that it was tradition which first delayed until Jesus' return the realization of the Jewish eschatological hopes which were not fulfilled during His earthly career, and then inserted them into prophetic speeches. Jesus is not coming in order to establish the great kingdom of peace on earth in the millenarian sense; but He is coming amid the unmistakeable signs of the collapse of the fabric of the world, to collect His chosen disciples from the four winds, and lead them into the glory of the heavenly kingdom (Matt. xxiv. 31). This explanation harmonizes entirely with what we have elsewhere heard from the mouth of Jesus regarding His final aims, for He always anticipates that the complete fulfilment of the ideal, which He began to verify in God's kingdom, will first be attained in heaven.

The difficulty still remains, that this consummation was to take place immediately after the catastrophe in Judea, and attempts have been made again and again to escape this conclusion. At one time it was said that Jesus Himself looked forward to a varied fulfilment of that prophecy of His coming, and that He comprehended it perspectively in one general picture; at another time it was alleged that tradition has mixed different predictions of His final return, and of His coming in a figurative sense (in judgment over Jerusalem, or in the triumph of His cause, or even in the Holy Ghost), so that things incompatible with one another have been joined

together in this discourse. The former explanation only occasions a distortion of the clear meaning of the words, and the latter leads to arbitrary critical experiments with the solid elements of this speech which has been handed down from the oldest apostolic tradition, and which our evangelists sought to explain but could not restrict, because in their time it was growing ever more evident that the prophecy would not be fulfilled in this form. Above all, the traditionary epilogue of the great advent discourse shows the utter uselessness of all this analysis. Jesus concludes the address with a parable taken from the fig tree, and says: When its branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh. Here undoubtedly the commencement of tribulation in Judea is designated the sign of the advent; and Jesus gives a solemn assurance that the present generation will see both with their own eyes, and that His words will not be nullified, even though heaven and earth shall pass away (Matt. xxiv. 32–35). It may be doubted whether the reference to the inviolability of His words related, as in the context of the oldest source, to the connection which this discourse established between His return and the judgment to be visited on Israel, for even Mark saw cause for stating that no man knew of that day and that hour, not even the Son (Mark xiii. 32). It is certain, however, that from the very first the basis of Jesus' prophecy was the expectation that this generation would live to see His advent, and of course all the events which were to precede it (Matt. xxiv. 34; Mark ix. 1; comp. p. 89 ff.). All the artifices which have been employed to change the meaning of this utterance by substituting the Jewish people for the present generation, have been frustrated by its concord with former statements by Jesus.

Jesus had answered the question of the disciples. He had indicated to them, in so far as prophecy does and can indicate, that the agitations caused by false Christs would lead to the destruction of the people, and of their worship along with them; and He had signified that this very destruction would be the signal for His return, and for the final consummation of all things. Much conflict would have been saved if people

had confined their endeavours to understanding the meaning of this prophecy, which is no chance prediction of events, but an indication of the future according to God's revealed scheme of salvation. We saw before why it was that, in the certainty of His Messianic mission, Jesus could hope for an accomplishment of His work within the generation to which He was sent (comp. p. 92 f.). It necessarily followed, however, from the whole of the Old Testament prophecy, that the attitude of Israel towards the salvation which was first of all meant for it, would be of crucial importance in the accomplishment of the salvation. This was insisted upon by Paul no less than by the writer of the Apocalypse (Rom. xi. 15; comp. Rev. xi. 13–15), and that at a time when the obduracy of Israel throughout the length and breadth of the land had long been a matter of certainty. According to our modern way of thinking, Jesus never once thought of His work having a bearing upon the world in general, because He could only conceive of it in the spirit of the Old Testament Scriptures. If Israel were to fulfil its mission, it would become the mediator to all nations of the salvation brought by the Messiah; but if not, then salvation would come without its intervention to the nations who had, before and instead of it, carried out the conditions, and received its blessings (comp. chap. x.). This, however, could not hinder the accomplishment of the divine decrees, as Jesus perceived them in the very fact of His mission; and even in prophecy the completion of salvation had ever been connected with the Messianic judgment. When, by a pseudo-Messianic revolution, Israel had taken up a definite position against the true Messiah, there was no longer any obstacle in the way of the last and greatest fulfilment of His mission—the approach of the divine consummation; in it merely a remnant of Israel would participate along with the disciples who had been won meanwhile from the Gentile world. This combination was no dull error on the part of Jesus; He must have regarded only this as possible if He truly believed in the promises given by the prophets. In so far as the divine purpose was yet revealed, which—because God had made its verification depend on the course of historical development—was not even fully made known to the Son (Mark xiii. 32), Jesus

had to adhere to this hope, even if God allowed hundreds and thousands of years to elapse before the people would testify to any inclination for, or appreciation of, His salvation.[1]

At best it is only a matter for surprise that Jesus, who foresaw a transference of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, did not think that a longer time would be necessary to effect their conversion and realize the salvation ordained for them from the beginning. We must not forget, however, that the idea which Jesus and His contemporaries had of the extent of the inhabited world was very different from ours, and that even Paul, about ten years before the destruction of Jerusalem, saw the gospel already made known throughout the length and breadth of the known world (Rom. i. 8). Above all, we must take into consideration that although Jesus counted on winning to Himself many individuals outside the theocracy of Israel (John x. 16, xii. 32), the experience which He had had among the people who had been prepared for His appearance for centuries, gave Him little hope of those nations who had received no preparation whatever; and the historical triumph of Christianity, when we measure its results by Jesus' claims, by no means characterizes His view of the case as pessimistic. It has always been a matter of fact that, among

[1] Objection has also been taken to the way in which Jesus' pictures of His return appealed to the senses. But those who say this overlook the fact that it is only a sign of true prophecy when, in a case without analogy,—such as the representation of the transition of this world into a blessed future of perfection, by the intervention of the Messiah,—it is veiled in old prophetic imagery, such as that borrowed by Jesus from Dan. vii. 13 (Matt. xxiv. 30). The contumacy of a dogmatizing exegesis alone desires an exact description of the various acts of judgment. The judgment of Israel is to take place in those days of tribulation, and the last great judgment will be heralded by the destruction of the world, which will affect all the godless who are alive, and hand them over to death (Matt. v. 29 f., x. 28). Moreover, if death should overtake them only at the end, it will bring definite judgment along with it, and deliver them up to eternal destruction. On that account none but the elect, *i.e.* the approved disciples, will be saved from this universal destruction (Matt. xxiv. 31); and with their selection the last separation and relegation, which Jesus so often prophesied as accompanying His return, will be accomplished. It was not for Him to make further disclosures concerning the fate of those who would be cut off from salvation. He had done enough when He warned them of their eternal misery (Luke xiii. 28), and recalled the pictures of eternal ruin to be visited on them by the judgment of divine wrath (Matt. v. 22, xxv. 41; Mark ix. 43; Luke xii. 5; comp. Mark ix. 48).

the many who have been called, only few have been chosen (Matt. xxii. 14).

We still possess, however, another speech from the apostolic source, and in it Jesus expresses Himself clearly on this head. He there laid emphasis on the fact that it was His rejection by Israel which would bring about His death, and necessitate His second coming (Luke xvii. 25; comp. p. 84); and His deduction from that was that the whole world would be as little prepared for His jurisdiction as Israel had been for His merciful and gracious first coming. He then proceeded to compare His second coming with the flood which once destroyed the whole world, and which was still regarded in the apostolic time as an analogue to the final destruction of the earth (2 Pet. iii. 6 f.). For further comparison, too, He made use of Sodom and Gomorrha, which were destroyed by the rain of fire and brimstone: it will happen in almost every case that this catastrophe will overtake men in their careless, worldly lives of pleasure, and hurry them to ruin. But just as Lot was saved from the destruction of Sodom, even so shall it be on that day. Two who are closely connected in life, and are working in the field or at the hand-mill, shall be separated; the one shall be taken, because he belongs to the Messiah's elect, and the other, left to destruction. For the world as a whole His coming is for judgment. As the vultures gather round the corpse, this last judgment will be visited on all the godless, wherever they may be (Luke xvii. 26–37).[1]

[1] Mark (xiii. 21-23), and after him the first evangelist even more fully, though with the addition of the final sentence of the discourse (Luke xvii. 37), have inserted a part from the beginning of this discourse, which we considered before (xvii. 22–24; comp. p. 84), between Matt. xxiv. 22 and ver. 29. The first evangelist then added the second part to the end of the advent sermon, leaving out only the example of Lot (Luke xvii. 28–30), which, from the point of view adopted there by him alone, in conjunction with Mark xiii. 32 (Matt. xxiv. 36), was less suitable for depicting the unexpected nature of the advent. Luke xvii. 31–33 is certainly an addition made by Luke himself, just as xvii. 37 contains an interpolated question added quite in his own way to the concluding remarks of the discourse. The great advent sermon of the apostolic source concluded doubtless with Matt. xxiv. 35; but as Mark (xiii. 33–37) and Luke (xxi. 34–36) each added, in his own way, a parenthetical conclusion from reminiscences of other words of Jesus, the first evangelist also extended it in xxiv. 42–51, and on through the whole of the 25th chapter, from other materials in the apostolic source.

Jesus concluded this discourse with a last illustration, which affords another proof of the hopeless difficulties into which we are plunged by the allegorical interpretations of parables. It is surely impossible that Jesus should mean to compare God to an unjust judge who neither feared God nor man, or the praying believer to a widow whom even the judge feared lest she should proceed, in desperation, to serious measures, if she did not get her rights. The meaning of the parable is rather that if, in earthly circumstances, an importunate widow received her rights from an unwilling judge, God will certainly hear the continuous cry of His own elect, and will avenge them speedily on their enemies. Just because the sermon began with a statement of the possible delay of the advent (Luke xvii. 22), it closed with the renewed promise that the prayers of His hearers would be heard speedily. But precisely because it must come soon, Jesus could not help adding the sorrowful question, Would the Messiah, on His second coming, find more faith in the whole earth than He had found in Israel on His first? (Luke xviii. 2–8).

Where were the other disciples when Jesus was conversing with the two pairs of brothers about these things? We know where one was. He had returned to the town, and was bargaining with the hierarchy over the betrayal of Jesus. Satan, says the evangelic narrative, had entered into Judas (Luke xxii. 3).

SEVENTH BOOK.

THE TIME OF SUFFERING.

CHAPTER I.

THE FATAL PASSOVER.

ON the night when the children of Israel left Egypt they stood staff in hand ready for their journey, and hastily ate the roasted lamb, whose blood was sprinkled on the lintel and on the door-posts of their houses. On that night the destroying angel went through the land of Egypt and smote the first-born, but he passed by the doors of the Israelites. So ran the narrative given in the holy books of the Old Testament; and ever after that first Passover, the sacrificial lambs were sacrificed in the temple in obedience to divine command, and their flesh was eaten by each household at the festive meal. This was done on the fourteenth of the month Nisan, the day before the great spring feast of unleavened bread, on the second day of which the first sheaf of harvest was brought as an offering. This, then, was the feast of the Passover, which derived its name from Jehovah's merciful passing over of the dwellings of the children of Israel, and was designed to remind the people of their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt (Ex. xii.).

According to the older Gospels, whose representation is certainly derived entirely from Mark, Jesus, on the morning of the fourteenth day of Nisan, ordered His disciples to prepare the Passover lamb, and on the evening of the same day He partook of the Passover with them in the customary way at the house of a friend in Jerusalem (Mark xiv. 12–16; comp. Matt. xxvi. 18; Luke xxii. 15).[1] If Jesus, as a matter of fact,

[1] From the fact of that day being termed the first day of unleavened bread (Mark xiv. 12), although it was not an actual feast day, it would appear that on that morning all leaven was sent out of the houses, and unleavened bread only could be eaten at supper. While, according to Jewish calculation, that evening was the close of the day before the great feast day, the 15th Nisan, it is according to natural calculation (such as that in Ex. xii. 18) added

had been taken into custody during the night and executed on the following morning, He would have been crucified on the first great feast day. But as, according to the law, the first and seventh days of unleavened bread were specially holy, and no manner of work was done on them (Ex. xii. 16), such an occurrence would have been very singular. Modern criticism, this time hand in hand with apologetics, has vainly tried to prove that such an act would not have been entirely prohibited by the traditionary customs of the feast. It is evident, however, that all the violations of the Sabbath, of which Jesus was accused, would have appeared as trifles in comparison with the action of the supreme Council in sending out armed servants, conducting a troublesome trial, condemning Jesus at an official sitting of the legislature, and finally inciting the complaisant procurator to a desecration of the day by an execution—and all this on such a Sabbatical feast day. The attempts to produce analogies from the New Testament and counter-arguments from the Talmud, rest entirely on arbitrary interpolations.[1]

Those who fall back on the assumption that the hierarchy thought that they were serving God by condemning and executing Jesus (John xvi. 2), do not take into account that the whole legislative standpoint of that time would have been transgressed by such reflections. It has certainly been asked why the evangelists have given no hint that they considered the procedure of the rulers unlawful. But apart from the fact that the breaking of the Sabbatical laws must

to the 14th; and thus the day of the Passover itself, after which the whole feast indeed is often named, was taken as the first feast day. Josephus, too, reckons eight feast days according to this popular mode of calculating (*Antiq.* ii. 15. 1). When the evangelist explains that it was the day on which the Paschal lamb was slain, he expressly avoids every misunderstanding.

[1] It appears on the surface that Matt. xii. 14 does not treat of an actual sitting of the Council; a tumultuous scene like that in Luke iv. 29 would not indicate any judicial order, even if it were more historically authenticated than it is (comp. p. 35); the same might be said of John x. 31, if it referred to a Sabbath, which naturally does not follow from the declaration that the scene was enacted at the feast of the Dedication. Certainly, according to John vii. 44 f., the arrest of Jesus was intended to take place on a Sabbath; but it is very doubtful if that was a juridical imprisonment officially approved by the high priests (comp. p. 173), and in any case that was quite different from the case here, where the armed servants of the high priests were prepared for an onslaught. It is self-evident that this is not to be accepted because the

have appeared very insignificant to them when compared with the crime about to be perpetrated against Jesus, they have given no indication that they were in any way conscious of the further consequences of the presupposition involved in their account of the preparation of the meal; we shall rather prove the contrary. No weight can be attached to the appeal to patristic tradition, for that was wholly founded on the synoptical Gospels.

In this case again we are relieved of all these difficulties by the Fourth Gospel. It is scarcely possible to avoid seeing a reference to the mistaken account by the older evangelists, when John expressly states that Jesus took His last meal with His disciples before the feast of the Passover, *i.e.* on the evening of the thirteenth day of Nisan (John xiii. 1). With that statement a series of indications are unintentionally in complete harmony; *e.g.*, when Jesus at the last meal exhorted Judas to hasten and accomplish his purpose, the disciples thought that he was receiving a command to make the necessary purchases for the feast, or to distribute alms from the bag which was entrusted to him (xiii. 29). Now, such a supposition would be clearly impossible if the feast had already begun with the meal for which such purchases were chiefly necessary; and on the eve of the feast, when each one was obliged to sit at the festive supper, no buying and selling could have been thought of. The alms to be distributed before the feast were, of course, intended to provide a Paschal supper for the poor. On the morning after this the Jews

Rabbis were still disputing whether the bearing of arms on the Sabbath day was only unseemly, or was actually unlawful, or because the Maccabees, taught by sad experience, at last gave their approval to self-defence on the Sabbath. The only real analogy in the New Testament shows that although Herod imprisoned Peter during the feast of Unleavened Bread, he expressly delayed the execution of the sentence till the feast was passed (Acts xii. 3 f.). The passages quoted from the Talmud also partly speak of feasts which are not all of an entirely Sabbatical character, and partly of sittings for the decision of questions of ritual, which were held in specially appointed places, in order to distinguish them from the actual sittings of the court, which are commanded to be held in the one spot. It is mere caprice to say that the difficulty was obviated by leaving all the writing undone, for it was just on account of the inevitable amount of writing that it was unlawful to administer justice on the Sabbath, and its omission would have made every legislative proceeding against Jesus assailable, whereas it was all-important to the supreme Council to condemn Him with every judicial form.

could not enter the prætorium, lest they should defile themselves in a Gentile house, and thus be rendered unfit to partake of the Passover (xviii. 28), The transactions before Pilate were therefore carried out on the forenoon of the fourteenth day of Nisan, on the evening of which the Passover was eaten, and indeed the day on which Pilate gave sentence is designated the Preparation for the Passover, *i.e.* the fourteenth day of Nisan (xix. 14). The following day is termed a high Sabbath day (xix. 31), and this expression can only be understood by supposing that the conjunction of the Sabbatical first feast day with the weekly Sabbath gave it the character of a double Sabbath. John also agrees with the older evangelists in saying that Jesus was crucified on a Friday; but there is no meaning in saying that Jesus' burial had to be hastened on account of the Jews' Preparation (xix. 42). The day of His death was the first great feast day, which was Sabbatical in its nature, and on which complete rest was enjoined. It seems quite evident from this that Jesus did not die on the 15th, but on the 14th Nisan, and that in the year of His death this date fell on a Friday.

Whenever this difference between John and the synoptical Gospels was noticed, attempts were made to remove the discrepancy; but it is a noteworthy fact that the oldest harmonists, more especially those of the second and third centuries, thought only of the possibility of reconciling the synoptical Gospels with John, as there could be no doubt whatever of his meaning. But when it became evident that all such endeavours were rendered hopeless by the express references to time in the older Gospels (Mark xiv. 12), an unprecedented attempt was made to reconcile John with the synoptical accounts, and this procedure has been generally adopted by the latest harmonists.[1] But even if it be granted that one or another passage offers a greater abstract possibility

[1] According to them, the indication of time in John xiii. 1 does not refer to the meal itself, but what follows in the narrative refers to the actual Passover, and the purchases which were to be made against the feast (xiii. 29) were to supply the wants of the first feast day, for which end, they say, sellers were on the spot from midnight. In this case the solemn reference to the eating of the Paschal lamb (xviii. 28) must be understood as referring to the sacrificial meal on the following day, because that defilement had only lasted till the evening,

of an interpretation different from that which all exegetical and archæological masterpieces have succeeded in giving it, the incontestable fact still remains that each part taken by itself deviates from the older Gospels,—a condition of things which is all the more incomprehensible because John knew the older Gospels, and had them before him. Modern criticism does not doubt that the fourth evangelist recorded Jesus' death as taking place on the fourteenth day of Nisan; but it explains his deviation by saying that he wished to make Jesus the true Paschal Lamb in order to remove every pretext for celebrating the Jewish Passover in the Christian Church. Seeing that Jesus died at the very time when the Paschal lambs were being slain in the temple, it is said that the evangelist has tried to show that Jesus once for all did away with the necessity for such sacrifices. But if the evangelist had really such an aim, which cannot be proved (comp. vol. i. p. 103), he certainly did not require on that account to depart from the entire tradition and cause an apparent contradiction, which at once became a stumbling-block when John's version became more widely known and recognised, as we see in the case of Apollinaris of Hierapolis. Paul declared Christ to be the true Paschal Lamb (1 Cor. v. 7), and so did the writer of the Apocalypse—at least so say many interpreters. If it really assumes that Jesus died on the fourteenth day of Nisan, then that must have been according to the oldest tradition, and John's statement is thereby proved to be authentic; but if this is not presupposed, then the evangelist's purpose gives no sufficient motive for correcting the other Gospels, although his representation was afterwards made use of to prove that Jesus was the true Paschal Lamb. A gentle correction of the older version may perhaps be seen in John's introductory sentence, but the other statements of the Fourth Gospel contain no trace of anything of the kind. On the contrary, it can only be inferred from them, more or less directly, that his view differed

and had been removed by a bath. Then, by the most arbitrary use of a later manner of speech, the date in xix. 14 is explained to be the Friday of the Passover week, and the weekly Sabbath, on account of its conjunction with the second day of unleavened bread, is singled out as a great day, before which the first day, whose Sabbatical character is so specially mentioned in the law, was obliged to give way (xix. 31, 42).

from that of the Synoptists. A harmonistic alteration of the older tradition would evidently have been of far more direct value.

Above all, however, we have seen that John's version was the first to explain the apparently insurmountable historical difficulties of the synoptic representation. It is by no means necessary to appeal to the fact that the Talmud has also represented Jesus as being executed on the day of the Preparation for the feast (Sanhedr. 43 *a*); for this only is probable. We can now understand the haste with which His trial was urged on, as well as the negotiations with Pilate, and lastly the burial. That day at sunset the feast began, which would have totally suspended every further proceeding, because in that year the first great feast day occurred on the weekly Sabbath. The most remarkable fact, moreover, is that this state of things is also testified to by the synoptical account. According to it, the request to take Jesus down from the cross was tendered so soon that Pilate marvelled, and we are told that the reason was simply because it was the Preparation, *i.e.* the day before the Sabbath (Mark xv. 42–44). It is still incomprehensible, however, if it is the case, as must have been supposed by the Synoptists, that the day of Jesus' death was itself a high feast day, on which as little work was permitted as on Sabbath, with the exception of the preparation of food (Ex. xii. 16). Yet on that day Joseph of Arimathea bought the linen to wrap round Jesus' body (Mark xv. 46), and the women prepared spices and ointments in the evening, in order that they might rest on the Sabbath day according to the commandment (Luke xxiii. 56). Simon the Cyrenian, too, would seem to have been returning from work in the fields; for otherwise the mention of the country would be rather purposeless (Mark xv. 21). It has certainly been said that our evangelists cannot have regarded these things as irreconcilable with the customs of the feast. But none of them, even indirectly, mentions the day of Jesus' death as the first high holy day of the feast of Unleavened Bread. It is always the week day which hovers before their minds; and this makes it very doubtful whether they had reflected that, according to their way of indicating the day on which the disciples prepared the supper, Jesus must have been crucified on that feast day.

Naturally enough, this indication of the day followed from the supposition that the last supper which Jesus took with His disciples must have been a Paschal meal which was celebrated on the appointed day, in the manner commanded by the law.

Fundamentally, however, the synoptical account itself scarcely verifies this presumption; for though the preparation of the Paschal lamb for the supper is so evidently discussed (Mark xiv. 12, 16), the description of the meal itself lacks nearly all the characteristics peculiar to the Passover. On the table stood a dish into which they dipped their bread, which is nowhere spoken of as unleavened (Mark xiv. 20); and it is only expounders who say that the dish contained the sauce *charoscth.* There is no mention of the bitter herbs which were eaten at the Passover with sour or salted sauce, in memory of the bitter days of Egyptian bondage; and although the meal closed with an hymn, there is no proof that it was the great Halleh or song of praise with which the Passover supper was wont to close (Ps. cxx.–cxxxvii.). From the Mishna (Tr. Pesach 10) we know what was the somewhat stiff and prolix ritual observed at this meal, which was regulated by the drinking of four or five cups of wine; and there is much in the solemn action of Jesus at the farewell supper which reminds us of the old-established ceremonial. Jesus indicates what meaning is to be attached to the various items of the supper; and it was the custom for the head of a Jewish family to instruct his household as to the different parts of the meal, between the mixing and drinking of the second cup. Just as Jesus broke the bread and blessed it, a solemn breaking of bread was customary at the Passover after the participation of the second cup—with this difference, that the latter was covered with bitter herbs and dipped in *charoscth.* Just as Jesus consecrated the cup with a prayer of thanksgiving, a solemn blessing used to be invoked on the third cup immediately after the actual Paschal lamb had been eaten, and this cup was therefore called "the cup of blessing." But in spite of these points of resemblance, all attempts to prove an entire correspondence between Jesus' actions and the ritual of the Passover are unavailing, because, in addition to their difference in execution and order, the oldest tradition tells

us that they did not take place till the close of the meal (1 Cor. xi. 25).

Notwithstanding all this, it is impossible to doubt the fact that Jesus did eat a Paschal lamb at the last supper with His disciples; for not only have we the direct testimony of the Gospel of Mark to that effect, but we have a clue to the error which has crept into the synoptical account, if we may assume that it was occasioned by this fact. Even John, little as he speaks of a Paschal lamb, adds his indirect testimony to the truth of the supposition. He too represents the last supper as being held in the town; for whenever it was finished, Jesus crossed the brook Cedron with His disciples (John xviii. 1). Now, seeing that it was His wont in these days to retire towards Bethany in the evening (Mark xi. 9; Luke xxi. 37; John viii. 1), and seeing that the conflict with the hierarchy, which was daily growing keener, made it ever more necessary for His safety to retire thither, there must have been some very special reason for His coming to a festive meal in the city, towards the evening of the thirteenth day of Nisan, when He no longer saw fit to appear before the people. But it is highly probable that this supper was the Paschal meal, since that could only be celebrated in Jerusalem. And although John gives no description of the institution of the Sacrament, he must have perceived some reminiscence of this last feast in the breaking of bread which was afterwards observed by the Church, otherwise there is no accounting for his characterization of this as a type of the love-feast, at which these ceremonies were customarily observed (John xiii. 1). The statement about its having taken place before the feast of the Passover, even if it shows a reference to the older account, can only be considered really important if this meal had a certain relation to the Passover. There is now no possibility of proving that the custom of the feast made it permissible to offer the sacrifice and partake of the supper a day before the actual Passover, but it is rendered highly probable by the apparent impossibility of slaying all the Paschal lambs on one day, and of finding accommodation, on one single feast night, for all the people who were non-resident in Jerusalem. In that case Jesus partook of the Passover with His disciples on the thirteenth day of Nisan, and in His own free way observed

those customs connected with the observance, which possessed any significance for Him, or which He could invest with a new and higher meaning. If it was not unusual to eat the Passover on the preceding day, we can easily understand how this fact was forgotten by tradition, and how it came to be generally supposed that the meal was observed on the day appointed by the law.

This celebration of the supper before the right day, certainly suggests that Jesus foresaw with the utmost certainty that He would not share in the actual Passover; but this is only conceivable if the coincidence of His death with the feast of the Passover was no mere chance, but a divine dispensation. It is certainly only the first evangelist who has interpolated into Mark's text a direct prediction from Jesus that He would be crucified at the Passover (Matt. xxvi. 2), but even so certainly do His injunctions regarding the Paschal meal show that He expected His death before the commencement of the actual Passover. To Him this coincidence was the last seal to the divinely ordained necessity of His death. It served as a confirmation to His mind that His sacrifice unto death was the last means for saving His people whom He had not been able to rescue by His life's work. The day which commemorated the deliverance of the nation from the bondage of Egypt, was also to see God's great final act of salvation, which would offer freedom from the guilt and power of sin to the people, nay, even to all mankind. And as the blood of the Paschal lamb once protected the children of Israel from the avenging angel, His atoning blood was to be the means for averting God's judgment from the guilt-laden people (comp. p. 72 f.). He wished to celebrate that fundamental saving act of His God with the disciples once again, before taking the last difficult step which the accomplishment of the divine purpose demanded. We do not know if the words with which, according to Luke, He began the last supper (Luke xxii. 15) have any authentic traditionary support. Certainly this Passover was no type to Him of the rejoicings of the redeemed in heaven (xxii. 16), but was merely the memorial supper of God's first great rescue of the children of Israel. We can well understand how earnestly He must have desired to celebrate this meal with

His disciples once more, for it would afford Him an opportunity of initiating them into the deepest significance of His death, and of strengthening them powerfully for the continuance of His work.

With such thoughts Jesus decided to celebrate the Passover on the eve of the fourteenth day of Nisan. Meanwhile the meshes of the treacherous net, which was to cause His destruction, were being more closely drawn together over His head.

CHAPTER II.

THE BETRAYAL.

ON Wednesday evening, or two days before the Passover, which was to begin with the festive meal on Friday, the chief Jews met together in order to decide finally how the destruction of Jesus was to be brought about. It was beyond question that He must die; they were now solely concerned with the How (Mark xiv. 1). It is incomprehensible how that modern criticism, which is so anxious to deprive the Fourth Gospel of its historical value, can maintain that that Gospel has antedated Jesus' conflict with the hierarchy, because it was only now that the generally hostile parties of Sadducees and Pharisees united in proceeding against Him. Even Mark leaves no doubt that the rulers had sworn the death of Jesus whenever He appeared at the feast; and he advances as the exclusive reason for their action, that they were afraid of His influence over the people, which would take the power from their hands (Mark xi. 18). It is evident, however, that this result could only be possible if their powerlessness had been manifested in a long conflict with Jesus, if in fact the Messianic demonstration on Jesus' entry had only put the seal to what had been taking place for some time. The regardless daring of the denunciations of woe might well embitter them to the uttermost, and "the instinct of self-preservation" might well urge them to speedy action; they had known for long what they intended to do, and Jesus' death was decreed whenever He appeared at the feast.[1]

[1] It is useless to attempt imputing a gradual accession of the strife to the synoptical account, and it is just as useless to elaborate a proof of a first attack by force from Mark xii. 12, although it is only stated there that in the existing state of the popular mind any attempt at imprisonment would have been like those former failures of the hierarchy at the feast of Tabernacles and at the feast of Dedication (John vii. 44, x. 39). The purification of the temple, which

The difficulties in the way of the execution of this plan had meanwhile not decreased. The attitude which Jesus took up after the day of His public entry may have gradually cooled the enthusiasm of the people for Him, and His reply to the question about tribute may have caused a bitter disillusionizing; but in spite of this He still held His ground. He who had attacked the hierarchy with such reckless bravery in the hearing of all the people, would surely have the multitudes on His side whenever the rulers dared to lay hands on Him openly, for that would almost force Him to unfurl the standard of the Messianic revolution. Thus the rulers were obliged to resort to secrecy. It is not likely that they ever thought of assassination, for Jesus was so constantly surrounded by His disciples that such a deed must have been discovered, and the odium of it would have clung to the supreme Council. The respect entertained for Him by His followers could only receive a fatal blow by a public and shameful execution carried through with all the forms of justice; and if He were once safely in confinement, ways and means for the execution would soon be found. There was, however, still one great difficulty, for they had been taught by former experience (Mark xii. 12) that if they tried to arrest Jesus while the people were in this excited condition, and so favourably disposed towards Him, they would risk a revolutionary outbreak. It is inconceivable how the scruples of the chief priests and scribes against any action on the feast day (Mark xiv. 2) can be understood to signify that they wished to get rid of the business quickly before the feast began; the truth is, that the city had long been crowded

is erroneously described by the synoptical writers as taking place at this feast, could have had no influence in adding to the fierceness of the conflict; and the fact that it is not even mentioned during the trial of Jesus, clearly shows that the hierarchy did not use it as a pretext for taking proceedings against Him. The Messianic triumphal procession might indeed make them perceive the gravity of the situation (John xii. 19), but their decision to put Jesus to death had been taken before His appearance at the feast (John xi. 50–53); and this fact presupposes an extended ministry in Jerusalem, as the hierarchy had scarcely sufficient reason for concerning themselves about the Galilean prophet so long as He took care not to appear in the capital, especially as, according to the synoptical account, His ministry among the people as well as the popular enthusiasm for Him had latterly been diminishing rather than increasing.

with festive guests, and the last comers must have arrived that day. Nay, indeed, they would rather have waited till the feast was past; and yet they could not know whether Jesus might not leave the town immediately, and so put new difficulties in the way of His arrest. In view of this possibility it was thought necessary to seize Him quietly (Mark xiv. 1 f.); craft must help where force had failed. If the people could only see that He had fallen powerlessly into the hands of His enemies, they would turn from Him, because their last hope would have vanished. But how was this to be done?

In the midst of their utter perplexity, the hierarchy received unexpected help which surpassed their wildest dreams. One of the twelve most intimate disciples and friends of Jesus was ushered in; it was Judas himself, who came with the offer to deliver Jesus into their hands. He knew the habits of his Master, and he could easily ascertain or guess the place on the Mount of Olives where Jesus would pass the following night with His disciples (John xviii. 2); thus he only required to indicate the way thither to the watch, and the capture might be effected without any tumult and without the dreaded intervention of the populace. Nothing more favourable could have been offered to the hierarchy; for Jesus, betrayed by His closest followers, would be condemned in the eyes of the people. It is quite erroneous to suppose that this proposal made the rulers give up their former plan. If the arrest could be managed thus, it would be a matter of complete indifference whether it happened during the feast or not. Greatly delighted at this turn of affairs, they promised a reward whenever the terms of the offer were carried out; and it now lay with the proposer to find ways and means for its execution (Mark xiv. 10 f.). The first evangelist was the first to suppose that Judas made a preliminary inquiry as to the reward of his treachery, and that the hierarchy immediately covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver (Matt. xxvi. 15). The rulers must certainly have known better than to pay the reward of crime before the deed was done, for they would have been greatly compromised in public opinion if their shameful attempt at bribery were exposed in consequence of Judas

having changed his mind. Neither is the price which was paid known with any certainty; for it appears to be incontrovertible from his own reference (Matt. xxvii. 9) that the evangelist inferred the sum from the prophecy of Zechariah (xi. 12), which he saw fulfilled by the deed of Judas.[1]

Naturally enough, Christendom has constantly sought to understand the motives of this black deed, which might almost make us despair of the human heart, and even of the accuracy of Jesus' knowledge of men. Some expositors are satisfied to see in it the perfection of human wickedness, whose basis they find in the supernaturally wicked one, or in the dispensation of God, who here accomplished His purpose by using that which was evil and allowing it to come to maturity. But neither the acknowledgment that every surrender of man to evil originally springs from his temptation by unearthly powers, nor that God eventually employs the most profane deeds to carry out His own purposes, relieves our minds of the question how such a purpose could be matured in Judas' mind; for the devil only rules the man who surrenders to him, and God only allows wickedness to develope in him who disregards all His impulsions towards repentance. Others, again, have seemed to regard Judas' deed more as the error of a man of limited understanding, who shortsightedly and obstinately wished to force his still hesitating Master to a proclamation of the Messianic kingdom which would be aided by a rising of the people, and which he would thus hasten by placing before Him the immediate choice of victory or defeat. To this also we may object that the furtherance of a secret arrest would only leave

[1] We must not overlook the fact that the fulfilment of the promise which Judas made to the supreme Council remained in his own hands to the very last, and timely reflection might have moved him to retract it. It was therefore a curious fancy of critics to accuse the Fourth Gospel of contradicting Luke xxii. 3, because they say, Judas did not definitely determine on his diabolical treachery till the last supper (John xiii. 27); the truth is that John expressly declares that the devil had put the plan of betrayal into his heart before the supper (xiii. 2). Just as singular, too, are the reflections as to whether it was intended to degrade Jesus by putting the price of a common slave on His head (Ex. xxi. 32), or whether a sum which represented the wages of daily labour for four months (Matt. xx. 2) was not a rich reward for one in Judas' circumstances. All that we know is that the price which was paid was large enough to buy a field which could be turned into a burying-ground (Matt. xxvii. 7).

the way open for such a proclamation, if Judas believed in an unlimited miraculous power pertaining to Jesus, and in view of such a belief his attempt to constrain Jesus would appear as a doubly audacious tempting of God. But the moral detestation with which Jesus speaks of his betrayer, and the hopeless despair of Judas after he has done the deed, exclude all possibility of its having originated in an error, which Jesus would assuredly have seen through and explained while extending to Judas a final hope for his salvation.

Among the evangelists, the first is the only one who has thought of the avarice of Judas being his motive for the crime. According to Mark, the chief priests and scribes were at least aware that they might broach the subject with him, and his acceptance of their money shows that he was not inaccessible in that way. But that is very far from saying that this price decided him to betray his Master.[1] From John's direct testimony it cannot be doubted that the charge with which Jesus had entrusted him became a temptation to him (John xii. 6). When we told how he was entrusted with the stewardship of the common fund, we had to exonerate Jesus from any responsibility (comp. vol. ii. p. 274): and it is quite incompetent to ask why Jesus did not take the bag from him when he became a thief; for although Jesus had long seen through him (comp. p. 61), it by no means follows that He knew, with divine omniscience, of thefts which were not revealed till after his death. Above all, however, it is generally overlooked that even John, who testifies to Judas' avarice, does not say one word to show that it played any part in the betrayal. Thus, what we really know leads us to believe that the heart of Judas was becoming gradually more and more involved in snares of worldliness, which did not beseem the service of Jesus, and that the desire for earthly possessions, whose control and administration in attending to his calling gradually monopolized his interest, had deprived him of all inward striving after the highest good, which alone could prove a lasting bond of union between him and Jesus. We may be

[1] Any reference to the insignificance of the price—the amount of which we do not know—is certainly attended with difficulty; and it is strange to say that Judas was radically better so long as the common purse was accessible to him as treasurer to the company of disciples.

sure that the inward resistance of such tendencies to the bond of discipleship which he outwardly adhered to, must have become the more unendurable the longer it lasted. But still we find no trace of a motive for the betrayal.[1]

The deed of Judas is not such an unsolvable riddle for those who believe in the historical accuracy of John's Gospel. We saw that after the crisis in Galilee, which first undeceived many of the people, he too received a backward impulsion, and even at Cæsarea Philippi Jesus remarked that one of the Twelve had become a prey to the devil (John vi. 70). From that time onward Judas secretly turned away from Him who had so bitterly disappointed his fairest hopes. The people might again succumb to illusions, and promise themselves a final fulfilment of their hopes, but it was impossible for him, who lived in constant intercourse with Jesus, to deceive himself with such vain expectations. The other disciples might see an ultimate fulfilment of their earthly hopes beckoning to them from afar, as the reward of their entire devotion to Jesus, and of their readiness to share everything with their Master; he could do so no longer. He did not wish to know anything of a Messiah who demanded from His followers that they should deny themselves and bear the cross to the extent of sacrificing their lives; and he decided not to follow paths like these for the sake of such very questionable expectations. It was probably only the fear of being called a deserter which restrained him from breaking openly with Jesus, and perhaps his advantageous position as financier to the company had some weight with him; for this was the point at which it appears that there is only a step between the most ambitious earthly hopes and common greed for possession. The love with which Jesus would certainly pursue him, and make him feel that He knew his state of mind, would only be a constant

[1] We have right on our side when we pass by the continually recurring suggestion that the extremely mild reproof which Jesus administered at the supper in Bethany, incited Judas to treachery (John xii. 7 f.), for it is entirely founded on Mark's relation of the betrayal as following immediately after the supper, although the conjunction is not a chronological one (comp. p. 225, note), and Mark does not even name Judas in connection with the supper. The other theories which have been constructed on this narrative, about jealousies and wounded pride among the disciples, might well be left for the poet to exercise his invention on, but they are in no way worthy of the historian.

reproach, like a detested moral coercion to which he would not conform. Thus constant intercourse with Jesus, which, we have already seen, became unbearable to his avarice, must have intensified his bitterness against the Master, till, at last, his former love was converted into hostility and hatred. It has been suggested that the chief priests and scribes keenly scanned the disciples to find one who would be their tool, and prepared their plans with every variety of machinations, as a result of which the former inhabitant of Judea (comp. vol. ii. p. 272, note) once more succumbed to his natural respect for the hierarchy, and had too little difficulty in choosing between it and his new Master. Our suppositions make that theory appear feasible in itself; but in the sources his offer evidently appears to have been quite a surprising one; and a man who accepts of money is not influenced by any misguided piety. There is, however, no need of such artificial explanations. Judas saw that the catastrophe was approaching, and that it had become inevitable. It was not that he was influenced by cowardly fear for his own safety; but if the man whom he had once loved and had been disappointed with, whom he now felt a continual desire to oppose, must be vanquished, then Jesus should also know that he had not been subject to fanciful and delusive hopes like the others, but that it was his hand which had wrought His destruction. Besides, if all went well, the hierarchy would surely have something more than gold to offer to him who would free them from their most dangerous enemy. Might not this deed be a step towards the attainment of great heights, even if not so brilliant as those which he had dreamed of by the side of the Messiah? We do not know how long Judas had brooded over such plans; but they were carried out on the Thursday before the feast began.[1]

[1] Critics thought that they were doing a good work when they relieved the circle of disciples from this "brutal caricature," and they explained that Judas was an allegorical creation of Jesus, intended to represent the treachery of Jewry, which was inserted by the oldest instructor into the circle of the Twelve, just to be taken away again to make room for Paul. Paul is also cited as a witness to that effect, for he speaks of no betrayer, but always of the Twelve, from whom therefore none can have been separated. But when he spoke of the Twelve (1 Cor. xv. 5), the elder James at any rate had been put to death more than ten years before; and Paul only adopted the customary way of designating a fraternity of twelve, even when one or more of them are lacking; and more than

There is no doubt that Jesus penetrated the motives of Judas. He saw the fearful plan mature in his heart, and He read its fulfilment in the averted glances with which he vainly sought to avoid the Searcher of hearts; but He was determined that this disciple should not thwart His purposes, and the present evening was still His. It was His wish to have one more undisturbed interview with His faithful ones before the parting came. Some time before this Jesus had bespoken a place from a friend, where He intended to keep the Passover with His disciples, but none of them knew where it was. Care was even taken that they might be sent to prepare the meal, without saying in Judas' presence where it was to be. On the Thursday morning, therefore, the disciples felt constrained to remind Jesus that they would have to look out for a place to celebrate the Passover, and make the necessary preparations besides.[1] It was, of course, still necessary to attend to the latter, and Jesus at once sent two of His disciples into the town to prepare the Paschal lamb, and procure everything needful for the supper. He told them that they need not trouble themselves about a room, for at a certain place they would meet the servant of the goodman of the house with whom He had made His arrangements, and they would know the man by the pitcher of water he carried. They were then to ask him where the room was in which the Master was to eat the Passover with His disciples; whereupon he would guide them to a large upper room, furnished and prepared for the supper, and they were there to prepare the Paschal lamb. Thus the disciples saw how faithfully their Master had looked after everything at the right time—nay, rather, before the time. Judas, however, was not informed where they were to sup; and for this evening at

that, "the night in which He was betrayed" (1 Cor. xi. 23) surely presupposes a betrayer. Besides, it is narrated in the Acts of the Apostles that the vacant place was filled immediately after the loss of the betrayer (Acts i. 15–26).

[1] Here we see again that the synoptical account contradicts itself. If it was really the first day of unleavened bread, *i.e.* the forenoon of the fourteenth of Nisan (Mark xiv. 12), then it was not high time, but much too late. The thirteenth of Nisan was generally considered to be the last day on which these things could possibly be looked after, which followed as a natural result from the overcrowding of the capital. Thus the disciples could only remind Jesus on the thirteenth of Nisan of what was necessary, and it is evident from His allowing Himself to be reminded that His preparations had long been made.

least there was no opportunity for him to accomplish his betrayal (Mark xiv. 12–15; comp. ver. 11).

Criticism has sought laboriously to collect all sorts of Old Testament parallels, in order to extract from the evangelists a proof of Jesus' prophetic insight;[1] and apologetics still defends Jesus' purpose to strengthen the faith of His disciples in His divinity, by showing His omniscience in the finding of the water-carrier, which was quite in the style of the apocryphal miracles related of His childhood. The text of Mark gives no sanction to this theory, and even his redactors have found nothing of the kind in them. Even the first evangelist, who had apparently lost sight of the prearrangement which is at the basis of the whole matter, states only that the master of the house to whom Jesus sent His disciples would certainly fulfil the last wish of the dying Master (Matt. xxvi. 18). But this is of course inconceivable, for Jesus alone knew what was before Him.

While His disciples were preparing the supper in the city, Jesus remained in Bethany (Mark xiv. 16). The day belonged to the friends who resided there, and the evening was reserved for His disciples.

[1] Saul, who went to seek his father's asses, is indeed instanced as meeting three men, of whom one carried a bottle of wine (1 Sam. x. 3); and the servant of Abraham, who went to sue for a wife for Isaac, met with a similar reception, when the maid handed him the water pitcher (Gen. xxiv. 14). Finally, the evangelic narrative has only repeated itself in this ingenious combination, and formed a counterpart to the search for the asses by the entry into Jerusalem (Mark xii. 2 ff.; comp. p. 230).

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST SUPPER.

IN an upper room belonging to some friend in Jerusalem, the little company assembled for supper. Attendants there were none, and therefore the customary washing of feet was omitted, which would have been doubly welcome on account of the distance traversed between Bethany and the city. It never occurred to any of the disciples to offer himself for such a service. But now Jesus Himself rises from the table, lays aside His upper garment, and girding Himself with an apron, after the manner of a slave, begins to wash the disciples' feet. Half-ashamed, and half-amazed at this action of their Master, the disciples remain silent; and once more it is that rash Peter who puts into words what doubtless all are feeling. When his turn comes he refuses to allow the Master to perform such menial service for him; and his declinature becomes only more obstinate as Jesus tries to quiet him by saying the disciples will soon learn the reason for His act. Peter was actuated by a noble modesty, even although it was combined with his naturally strong self-will, which would not submit to Jesus' distinctly expressed desires because it did not understand them. But when Jesus explains to him how fellowship with the Master depends upon allowing Him to perform this service (comp. Mark x. 45), Peter demands, with impetuous rashness, that Jesus shall wash his hands and his head as well, just as if the measure of that fellowship with Jesus, which he cannot do without, depended upon the amount of such ablutions. Seizing upon the symbolical meaning of the action, from which alone Peter's unconsidered words could have any meaning, Jesus shows him, by a parabolic example, the real ground for it: He who has bathed only requires to wash the feet which have been soiled by the journey, and

in the same way the disciples—at least the majority of them—have received from communion with Jesus that cleansing of the soul which renders them clean every whit. It does not follow from this, however, that stains and blemishes may not still be attached to them, and this act was intended to assist in destroying one of these. Through this symbol of self-humiliation Jesus wishes to exterminate in them that pride which so seldom hesitates to refuse performance of a humbling service (John xiii. 4–11).[1]

The incompetence of modern criticism to enter into Eastern manners and customs has led to its discovering in this scene a theatrical touch. The Oriental has a great fondness for such figurative language; and here Jesus did not employ it in symbolical fashion, for the words to Peter, which cannot be more thoroughly misapprehended than when they are made to refer to the absolution following upon baptism, form a parable explanatory of the motive of the action, but not of its significance. This is afterwards done by Jesus Himself when He describes it as having been typical. It is not a repetition of the washing of feet, in the way of a sacramental action, which Jesus demands, but it is the imitation of the example of lowly service, which He has given. Has He, their Lord and Master, not hesitated to perform for them the humblest duty of a slave, then they must not esteem themselves too high for any service which love may require of them. He emphatically calls upon them to imitate, not the form, but the character of His action,

[1] Harmonists have tried in vain to discover, in the dispute for precedence of which Luke tells (xxii. 24), the actual cause of this washing of feet. We have already seen that Luke has taken from the apostolic source the speech occasioned by the disciples' disputations, and has it introduced at the last supper (Luke xxii. 24-30; comp. Book V. chap. x.); he was perhaps induced to do so by some words of Jesus (xxii. 27), which seemed to refer to the situation at the supper, and perhaps by a reminiscence of the Johannine tradition of the washing of feet. On the other hand, modern criticism assumes that the fourth evangelist transposed the speech regarding humility, which is given by Luke, into a symbolic action only in order to replace the intentionally omitted institution of the supper by a similar symbolic deed. But apart from the fact that this is no truly symbolic act (see above), it is absolutely incomprehensible how the evangelist could suppose that the last supper, which in his Gospel receives its greatest importance from the final discourses, could be rendered significant by a symbolic act; or when, for good reasons, he omitted one of the kind that had to be replaced by another.

and in such humble duties of affection to find their happiness (John xiii. 12–17).[1] But no longer was this fair confidence unbroken, which Jesus assumes as necessary if His disciples are to learn the right kind of service, nor was there an entire willingness to obey Him. He knew that with one of the Twelve the labour of His life had been of no avail (xiii. 10 f.); indeed, by one of His chosen ones that passage from the Psalms was to be fulfilled which told what the Messiah should suffer, how His daily companion, whom He had received into affectionate domestic intercourse, would lift up a fatal heel against Him (xiii. 18 f.; comp. Ps. xli. 10).

We still find in the older Gospels a recollection of the fact that at the last supper Jesus spoke of one who dipped with Him in the same dish, and whose hand rested upon the same table, through whom, in accordance with the Scriptures, the end which God had determined for Him should be brought about. But the fact of his crime serving to fulfil the divine decree could not remove the sinner's guilt; and Jesus thought with a shudder of the fate of this man of whom He said: It were better that he had never been born (Mark xiv. 20 f.; Luke xxii. 21 f.). But, moreover, the older tradition, which rests upon Peter's reminiscences, is absolutely at one with John in this, that Jesus at last told the disciples distinctly that one of them would deliver Him into the hands of His enemies;[2] and both Gospels describe with equal vividness how at this statement the disciples looked at each other in amazement, and then inquired among

[1] The evangelist has made a thoughtful use of the remark in Matt. x. 24 to the effect that the apostle, like the servant, is not greater than his Master, and therefore cannot refuse to do what he has done (John xiii. 16; comp. ver. 13 f.). With words taken from Matt. x. 40 he points out that the high dignity of their position as ambassadors is as little injured by such self-humiliation as his is (John xiii. 20).

[2] Strauss, indeed, regarded it as certain that although Jesus perhaps foresaw that His end was near when He entertained a suspicion regarding one of the disciples, or even expressed it, yet the way in which the Gospels mention this reference to the betrayer is plainly actuated by the endeavour to take the point from a death which seemed to testify against Jesus, by representing it as prophesied in Scripture, and as foreseen by the Master. He looked upon the accounts given by the evangelists as only variations of that passage in the Psalms, although, strange to say, it is really first cited in the latest of the Gospels, and not in that which he regards as the oldest, and which is ever on the outlook for such fulfilments of prophecy.

themselves which of them the Master could mean (John xiii. 21 f.; Mark xiv. 18 f.; Luke xxii. 23). It may be asked what Jesus' object could have been in making this intimation; and here, as in so many other points, the fragmentary synoptic tradition does nothing to remove the difficulty. It may be possible to regard it as a last warning to Judas, whose conscience might be awakened on having his design and its consequences laid clearly before him. But Jesus' prediction was too distinct for this to be the case, and if Judas felt that he was thoroughly known, the way of return must have seemed cut off rather than smoothed for him. The oldest account at least knows nothing of such an exposure of the betrayer before all his companions, as is generally assumed, but which could only have embittered the unfortunate man, and forced him to proceed with the execution of his designs.[1]

Once more everything is made clear by the report of the eye-witness: Jesus desired to be alone with His faithful companions in order, for their sakes, to make the best use of these farewell hours; the presence of the traitor was like a weight upon Him. Judas must be induced to take his departure; and it would not be possible for him to remain if he knew that his action was known. For this reason Jesus let him understand with increasing distinctness that He no longer trusted all His followers, but that hostility against Him lurked in the circle of His chosen ones, and that one of

[1] Vain attempts have been made to regard Mark xiv. 20 as a token by which Jesus made the traitor known; this has been done partly in order to bring Mark into agreement with the first evangelist, and partly to conceal the difficulty which so many critics find to be inexplicable, that the synoptic writing, which is alleged to be the latest of all, does not give this inconceivable disclosure of the betrayer. And certainly this aimless repetition of what is said in ver. 18 cannot possibly be an answer to the inquiries of the disciples, but is only a faded recollection of the first reference to the inimical schemes of one of His companions (John xiii. 18), which is coloured by the incident of dipping the sop in the dish, which belongs to a very different connection (comp. John xiii. 26). It was our Gospel of Matthew which first made this a token of recognition, and it not only represents Judas with unparalleled boldness as acting the simple, but Jesus directly calls him the betrayer (Matt. xxvi. 23, 25). We can understand how it was that the evangelist could educe this from Mark's obscure account; but all the artifices of harmonists have not succeeded in bringing this incredible view of the occurrence into correspondence with the representation by John, which directly contradicts it.

them would be His betrayer (John xiii. 10, xviii. 21). But still Judas remained, and still he must have tried to delude himself by thinking that Jesus had only a general suspicion, or was drawing inferences from obscure prophetical utterances. But the amazement into which His last intimation put the disciples brought the catastrophe to a climax. It was the custom to recline at table with the left arm upon a pillow, and the feet stretched backward, so that the right arm was left free. To Jesus' right lay the beloved disciple, of whom it is therefore said that he lay on Jesus' breast; next to him was Peter. It only required a slight backward movement of the head, and it was possible to whisper to the neighbour on the left. Again it was Peter who could no longer endure the oppressive fearfulness which had settled upon the disciples when Jesus told that He saw His betrayer in one of their number. It is true he dare not inquire directly of the Master, for the way in which Jesus had expressed Himself clearly showed that He did not wish to say any more in the hearing of all. The beloved disciple either knows more, or can more easily obtain information than the others; he receives a hint from Peter to ask, and does so. The consideration which Jesus had had even for the "lost child" has now reached its limits. He had not wished to unveil him before all the disciples, but there was nothing to prevent Him telling His favourite what He knew; and this gave Him an opportunity for making the traitor depart. Tortured by an evil conscience, Judas had probably for some time looked about him, anxiously fearful that these inquiries were directed towards him. The whispering between Peter and John, and between the latter and his Master, had not escaped him; and when Jesus dipped a morsel of bread in the sauce and handed it to him, he knew that this was a sign by which Jesus made His betrayer known to the beloved disciple. He now saw the last plank broken behind him, and then and there determined upon action. But Jesus' patience was also exhausted; the disciple shall know what he has hitherto only foreboded. Jesus bids him hasten what he has to do. Even the beloved disciple did not understand how Jesus could order Judas to proceed to his worst; and the rest believed that He had sent the keeper of the bag to make purchases for the feast or to

dispense to the poor. But Judas went forth into the night (John xiii. 23–30).[1]

The supper came to a close. Jesus spoke of His departure (Mark xiv. 21), for He knew that death was now before Him. When Judas left, it was once more brought home to Him that His life's work was finished, and that only a few short moments were left to spend with His own, and these He would devote to the further prosecution of His work (John xiii. 31–33). At last He was alone with them. In these memorable moments Jesus performed a profoundly touching act, which, more than all His parting words, was to ensure the future of His work. It was doubtless this which first explained to His followers the dark mystery of His fate, and made it possible that, not in spite of the shameful and agonizing death which closed His life, but even on account of it, He was regarded as the Messiah of His people, and the Redeemer and Saviour of the world. It was this act which, despite all obscurations, has ever rekindled the comprehension of His life's work. His death cannot have been intended to prove the truth of a doctrine, since fanatics in every age have died for the falsest opinions. It cannot have been intended to support a new command of duty by showing how man should be faithful to duty even unto death, for weak humanity has never lacked

[1] This vivid representation of a scene of which naturally only so much passed into tradition as affected the whole body of disciples, modern criticism must of course regard as being artificially composed. Peter is said to have been intentionally put lower than the beloved disciple, in order to force him from the primacy; Judas to have in a manner prostituted himself so that his treason may be regarded as partly excusable; we are told that he ate the sop for judgment, and that the disciples did not understand what Jesus meant, because nothing can be bought in the middle of the night. But it is sufficient to remember that the supper was begun soon after sunset (Mark xiv. 17) and was not yet finished, and that the night into which Judas went out was in the sense of the evangelist, certainly not calculated in accordance with the hour-hand. But more than this, it is evident from John when it was that Judas quitted the band of disciples, for in the older tradition he appears with the watch in Gethsemane without a word being said as to his departure. The older dogmatical view—which held that Judas was present at the sacrament in order that it might demonstrate the Lutheran doctrine of the partaking of it being a judgment to him—had at least an apparent point of contact in Luke, who for topical reasons puts the institution of the sacrament first, in order to follow it up with everything he knew of what was spoken at the last supper. Keim would make Judas present the whole evening; but no proof of that can be drawn from the older Gospels, which also say nothing about his departure.

consciousness of the right; what is wanted is power to perform. His death could only crown His work and guarantee its consummation if it was, as His whole life had been, a revelation of the divine grace which comes to rescue mankind. The apprehension of this, which through this simple act was assured to Christendom for all time coming, was also to dawn upon the disciples who had failed to comprehend the allusion to His death, and could not understand the explanations as to its significance. But they could never forget this hour; and the remembrance of it did much to reveal to them the profound importance of Jesus' death.

It has been questioned whether Jesus really performed this act at the last supper, and it has been said that the Church perhaps represented a custom, which had arisen in itself, as having originated with the Founder; but here doubts must be silent. To the historical view, the origination of the custom is incomprehensible if it does not go back upon this moment in Jesus' life. Mark witnesses to it, and his description is founded upon Peter's reminiscences (xiv. 22–24); more than ten years earlier Paul knew of it, and his information must have been from the communications of the apostles (1 Cor. xi. 23–25).[1] John certainly is silent; but it is absolutely inconceivable that the fourth evangelist, who presupposes the whole older tradition, wished through silence to dispute the fact or to express his scanty esteem for a custom which had been practised in the Church for a whole generation. For this reason his silence cannot be explained by saying that he desired to show how Jesus died as the true Paschal Lamb, and was therefore obliged

[1] Paul refers to a revelation in regard to this act, which he received specially from the Lord; but according to the nature of revelation it cannot have referred to the simple chronological data which he communicates, but only to the significance of the act, and to what the Church had in consequence to do. Thus it is that he alone gives the express injunction to repeat this act (xi. 24 f.; comp. particularly chap. xii.), for Luke has plainly conjoined Paul's account with Mark's (xxii. 19 f.), and the first evangelist simply repeats Mark's description (Matt. xxvi. 26–28). In regard to the details of the incident we have therefore only Mark's account or Paul's to refer to. The latter is not only the older, but is, so to speak, the really official one, for Paul would not have introduced this custom into his Church without assuring himself of its historical foundation; and he must have decided in doubtful cases when it was evidently not a question of merely elucidatory additions.

to omit the supper and the institution of the sacrament which was so closely connected with it, and openly presignified it in a mystically-ideal way in the speeches belonging to an earlier Passover (chap. vi.). But we do not find any such references in these speeches (comp. p. 8, note), nor is Jesus' act so closely connected with the customs observed at the Passover (comp. p. 279) that it could not have been related without recalling them. And it might be supposed that the evangelist could not more effectually declare Jesus to be the true Paschal Lamb, or more thoroughly abrogate the old feast of the Passover, than when Jesus at the last supper offered Himself as food to the disciples. It seems perfectly evident that for the purpose of a Gospel, which aimed at describing the greatest revelation of God in the Person of Jesus and the blessedness of faith in Him, the account of this act contained no fresh import. And besides, in view of the constant imitation of it in the worship of the Church, a narrative would only have been necessary if it had been the evangelist's intention to put it in a new light.[1]

All our reports agree in saying that on the night in which He was betrayed, Jesus took one of the loaves lying on the table, pronounced a blessing upon it, and, after breaking it in pieces, gave to His disciples with the words: This is my body. To the historical view, which is uninfluenced by dogmatic side-glances at the subsequent celebration of the sacrament in the Christian Church, there can be no doubt that this was a symbolic action. It might have been suggested by the analogy of the symbolic customs observed at the Passover, and the disciples, in whose midst Jesus was still bodily pre-

[1] This silence on the part of the evangelist cannot have been intended as a protest against the perverted idea of a sensuously magical effect of the sacrament, or even, as Schenkel would have us suppose, to express his foreboding of the errors and abuses which were to make this solemnity the most fruitful source of superstition and ecclesiastical disputations. But those who explain the omission of the scene by the eclectic character of the Johannine composition ought certainly to cease looking for the passage in the Fourth Gospel where it was left out. Indeed, here as everywhere the evangelist formed into a new unity his fragmentary recollections and the material he selected from other sources, and nowhere did he mark the place of such omissions. John xiii. 34 f. is the passage which reminds us most of the founding of the New Covenant in the blood of Jesus, for that involves a new fraternal relationship between the confederates.

sent, could not possibly understand His words otherwise than as meaning that the act which He performed with bread represented symbolically what would happen to His body. Not without reason has this been termed His last parable, only it was not spoken in words but in deeds. On that very account it was no allegorical play of figures; it did not mean that the bread signified His body. But as Jesus broke the bread in order to distribute it, so His body was to be dissolved in death that each individual might be able to share in Him. Even the older Gospels were ambiguous as to whether Jesus expressly ordered the disciples to take and eat; but whether He did so is just as much a matter of indifference as whether, with Paul, He described the body as redounding to their salvation. Under any circumstances, the real point of the action was the offer of the broken bread; and the thanksgiving with which Jesus began, shows that for them it bore upon an appropriation which would bring salvation. Not as a dark fatality were they to regard the death which He was now to meet, but as the way by which God would make them sharers in His greatest gift of salvation; and that gift was not to be for mere contemplative purposes, but for personal appropriation. Only one question now remains, and that was how the body destroyed through a violent death could be such a gift of salvation; but even to this Jesus' symbolical act gives an answer.

It is a matter of course that it was at the close of the supper that Jesus consecrated the last morsels to this solemn symbolical deed. It is impossible that the disciples could go on quietly consuming bread, to which Jesus had just attributed this significance; it is impossible that the two parts of the action, whose connection alone explains it, should have been separated by a portion of the meal. But regarding the second part, Paul distinctly says that it was done after supper, and that had just closed with the solemn breaking of bread (1 Cor. xi. 25). Useless is the disputation as to which cup of the Passover supper Jesus blessed, for we are quite ignorant as to how closely He connected this rite with the ordinary Passover customs (comp. p. 279). All that is certain is that He took a cup of red wine mixed with water, such as was used at this supper, consecrated it by prayer, and passed it round His disciples. But the words

He spoke when offering the cup ought to answer the question as to how this violent death in which His blood was shed could bring them the greatest salvation. Little as the disciples could enter into what was before Jesus, and unreceptive as they were for any elucidation of the significance of His death for salvation, yet they could never forget how He declared the cup to be the New Covenant which was established on the ground of His blood shed in death, and how He described their common partaking of this cup as the symbol and pledge of their participation in this covenant.[1] It is now clear for the first time that this was no comparison between the blood and the wine, and all insistence upon the words "this is" is prevented by the statement which puts the cup on a level with the covenant. We see that the symbolism of the action consists exclusively in the giving and taking of the cup, and Jesus could consecrate that as a type of the covenant, because the wine contained in it pointed to the blood which rendered the establishment of the New Covenant possible. The cup could not be drunk before it was filled with wine, and in the same way it was impossible for the individual to share in the covenant before Jesus' blood had been shed for its establishment.

Jesus stood at the height of His life's work. His desire was to found the kingdom of God in which the theocracy of Israel might be perfected and be enabled to realize its ideals. But this theocracy rested upon the covenant which God had established with Israel at Sinai; in virtue of this covenant Israel was His people, His son, the object of His affection and care. But what at the beginning had been promised only to the nation, was, at the consummation of the theocracy, to be

[1] In deciding upon the words of Jesus it is necessary to proceed upon the view of them entertained by the oldest witness, Paul, especially as his undoubtedly presents the most difficulties, for Mark's representation can be easily explained by its agreement with the words used at giving the bread, and by a reminiscence of Ex. xxiv. 8. Moreover, the latter shows how correctly the evangelist understood Jesus. It is really of no consequence whether Jesus, as Paul reports, directly described the Covenant as a new one, which for the members of the Covenant of Sinai it certainly was, or whether He said that His blood was shed for many, which follows as a matter of course from the symbolism of the act. Even the addition given by the first evangelist, which denotes the forgiveness of sins as the aim of this shedding of blood, is in complete harmony with Jesus' meaning.

fulfilled in each individual; every subject of the kingdom ought to feel himself a child of God, and, through the grace of his God, should succeed in realizing the religio-ethical ideal which was his guarantee of salvation for time and eternity. For this end it was necessary, as the prophets had already seen, that a new covenant be made in the Messianic epoch; and the ultimate condition of this covenant was the bestowal of such a complete forgiveness of sins as the sacrifices of the old theocracy could not procure (Jer. xxxi. 31–34). When the Old Covenant was concluded at Sinai, a sacrifice was slain, and Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of it, saying, Behold the blood of the covenant which Jehovah makes with you (Ex. xxiv. 4–8). But there is probably no reference here to what was historically the original meaning of the rite. In New Testament times people saw in it the purifying of the people by the cleansing blood of a sin-offering (Heb. ix. 19–22), for a holy God could not enter into covenant relationship with a sin-stained people. No doubt Jesus had this incident before His mind when He spoke of the blood of the covenant. It has recently been said that He began by offering every penitent the full and free forgiveness of his sins, but that afterwards He represented a sin-offering as being necessary. And we are told that this was a descent from His earlier and purer views, or at least was an accommodation to human weakness. Those who hold this forget, however, that between lay the whole of His earthly activity. The culminating act of God's grace to the nation had been the offer of salvation in and through His Messiah. This people, above all others, had been trained and prepared for the reception of it, and yet had not believed or repented. They were even now preparing to commit the most atrocious crime the world had seen; for they were about to slay their Saviour and Redeemer. And by reason of the ethical *solidarité* of the human race, this act—in which every Israelite, either through wickedness or weakness, had a share—would only exhibit the culminating point of the sin of humanity, as that is ever powerful in every race. God could not possibly establish the new covenant of the kingdom with this sinful humanity if there were not some means of atonement in virtue of which the sin could be forgiven, because it was also the guarantee of final victory.

It was Jesus' sacrifice of Himself in the death His people prepared for Him, that, in accordance with the most marvellous of all the divine decrees, caused the most heinous of sins to be turned into a mighty act of love which would surely win the hearts of all who were still capable of being touched; and by preparing the way to heavenly exaltation, this sacrifice presented Him with the means for completing His work upon earth. In this sense Jesus had to regard His death as the offering of atonement which God had ordained—as once before the animal sacrifices of the Old Covenant—in order to re-bestow His grace upon an absolved nation and a purified humanity; and this, by establishing the New Covenant, would render the completion of His own life's work possible (comp. p. 73 f.). Even John still remembers that in His last discourses Jesus spoke of having dedicated Himself as a sacrifice for His own, in order to purify them from the defilement of sin (John xvii. 19). But only by the personal appropriation of the blood shed for them—by giving up which, in His sacrificial death, Jesus had completed the work of His life—could His followers share in the fruit of it in the covenant relationship of the perfected kingdom of God; just as now, they were all drinking wine from the one cup which Jesus offered them. For it was only this believing appropriation of the grace of God manifested in Jesus' death, which could give such a divine impulsion as would generate a new religio-ethical life and lead to the subduing of sin; and the granting of this impulsion could alone turn the greatest of all sins into the means of fully atoning for sin.

Many still suppose that Jesus Himself partook of the consecrated cup; but it is impossible He can have done so, for that would have destroyed the whole symbolism of the action.[1] But since the wine in the cup was the symbol of the blood so soon to be shed, He recollects that this is the last time He will drink of this fruit of the vine, which gladdeneth the heart of man. The disciples are now to know that His end is very near; but He Himself looks forward to a future when, in the

[1] Luke seems to have put Mark xiv. 25 before the institution of the supper, and even to have connected it with a last cup which Jesus did not share in (Luke xxii. 17 f.). It is a favourite interpretation to see in this a distinct separation between the sacrament and the Jewish Passover.

realm of His Father, that great festival shall begin at which He had once seen the nations gathering from far and near (Matt. viii. 11). The wine drunk there will of course not be an actual produce of the glorified earth, but the emblem of the blessedness of the perfected kingdom of God, whose inexhaustible fountains will more than supply the want of the juice of the grape (Mark xiv. 25). This was the end of the supper, but there were still some last hours which Jesus could spend with His disciples.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST DISCOURSES.

THERE can be no doubt that Jesus employed the last hours with His disciples in talking with them of their vocation. In the entire older tradition, however, we find only one address devoted to this purpose, and doubtless therefore it contains reminiscences of what Jesus discussed with His disciples on this evening.[1] It must have been in reference to their calling as apostles that He began by saying that everything hidden must be revealed, and everything secret must be brought to light (comp. Mark iv. 22), so that even that which He has told them most privately, and has as it were whispered into their ear, shall one day be proclaimed by them in the full light of publicity, and be preached as openly as if from the house-tops (Matt. x. 26 f.; comp. Luke xii. 2 f.). To do this will of course put them in just such an exposed position as has been described by the figure of the city set on a hill (Matt. v. 14). Jesus had just pointed to His own fate, to the martyr death His body was to meet with; and was it likely that any better destiny lay before them? But they are not to be afraid of those who kill

[1] The apostolic source gave no history of the Passion, and therefore, of course, no account of the last supper, so that it was obliged to insert these reminiscences (Luke xii. 2–12) in connection with an address in which Jesus incidentally referred to the commission of the apostles (Luke xi. 49) and their ultimate fate (Matt. xxiii. 34). The first evangelist has thoughtfully introduced this discourse into the first "ordination charge" (x. 17–33), for he regarded that mission as the type of the subsequent mission of the apostles (comp. vol. ii. p. 303, note), and as usual he quotes most literally from the apostolic source. On account of the connection into which he introduces this discourse he has antedated the real prophecy of the second coming, and has probably introduced into x. 25 an allusion to ix. 34. Luke has preserved the original order; but the details are given more freely and incompletely, while the meaning of the introduction is obscured by the connection with Luke xii. 1 (Mark viii. 15). Moreover, John xiii. 33 (comp. ver. 31) still indicates that the disciples must remain behind when Jesus goes away, because they are called to finish the work He is obliged to leave.

the body,—for they can only do what God allows,—but of those who can deliver both body and soul to eternal destruction. God's care extends to the smallest of His creatures, even to those sparrows whose valuelessness is shown by the price for which they are sold; but how much more can it be said that not a hair of theirs shall be hurt without the will of God, for the subjects of the kingdom are under His peculiarly paternal protection. Their ultimate destiny will really depend upon whether Jesus Himself acknowledges them as true disciples before God's judgment-seat because they have fearlessly acknowledged His name, or whether He denies them because they have denied Him (Matt. x. 28–33; comp. Luke xii. 4–9).

In His own fate Jesus read that of His disciples: If the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord, they may not expect any better lot than His (Matt. x. 24 f.). He is looking forward to His condemnation by a human tribunal, and in the same way they will be delivered up to councils and scourged in the synagogues. Yea, when they go into the Jewish Dispersion they shall be placed before the provincial authorities and before the judgment-seats of kings. But all this will only be an opportunity for witnessing to Him before the Gentiles; and the Spirit of God will enable them to do this in the right way (Matt. x. 17–20; comp. Luke xii. 11 f.). As Jesus found His betrayer in the circle nearest to Him, so shall they be betrayed and delivered up to death by their own relatives; for hatred against the confessors of His name will be universal, and only he who endures to the end shall be saved (Matt. x. 21 f.).[1] John tells us distinctly that these prophecies were

[1] Only a fragment of this prophecy has been preserved by Luke, but Mark still gives it in full in the great speech on the second coming (Mark xiii. 9–13; comp. p. 262, note); the intimation of the way in which the disciples were to have opportunity of bearing witness before the Gentiles (Matt. x. 18) has been enlarged by him, in accordance with the experience of his time, to a prophecy of the mission to the Gentiles (Mark xiii. 10). It must have been the recollection of the connection in which Mark placed this prophecy (comp. Mark xiii. 14–20) which induced the first evangelist, in conformity with the first commission speech (Matt. x. 5 f.), to close it with Matt. x. 23. A reminiscence of the fact that at the last supper Jesus spoke of the fate the disciples were to meet with is doubtless contained in the remarks added by Luke (xxii. 35–38), which no doubt belonged to the earliest intimations of it (comp. p. 80 f.).

first made at the last supper (xvi. 4); and no doubt he has given them in the speech just alluded to, although in his own free manner (xv. 18–xvi. 3).[1]

But the fact that Jesus did speak of the different destinies of the disciples, which they would find so fraught with temptation, is confirmed when we see that only this gives us a real connection for some presumptuous words by Peter, which, according to Luke, were spoken at the last supper. John has connected them in a somewhat involved way with a remark by Jesus as to His departure (xiii. 36 f.; comp. ver. 33), and Luke has joined them to a special warning to Peter, which he gleaned from his own particular source, and the original figurativeness of which bears the stamp of genuineness (xxii. 31 ff.); all this, however, presupposes some hasty remarks in which Peter doubtless asserted that in spite of everything Jesus had disclosed to the disciples, he would be faithful even if the rest deserted. Jesus then warns him of Satan's cunning, and of his endeavours to prove the disciples unfaithful; but He also promises to make supplication for Peter that he should not entirely fail, and exhorts him when he repents from his momentary fall to strengthen the brethren in like temptations. But when Peter, indignantly repelling the thought of such a thing, goes the length of asserting that he will joyfully accompany his Master to death, Jesus tells him distinctly that in this very night before the second cock-crowing proclaims the morning dawn he will have denied Him thrice (Mark xiv. 30).[2]

[1] In both cases Jesus' speech proceeds upon the intention of explaining to the disciples the enmity which threatened them, and which is to be for His name's sake. It is also pointed out here that the servant can expect no better fate than befalls the master; again mention is made of the testimony they are to bear, which will be supported by the Spirit of God, and again the prophecy begins with the punishments in the synagogues (only that according to ix. 22–34 (comp. xii. 42) the ban is mentioned instead of the scourge) and closes with real martyrdom. Naturally this is all carried out in a truly Johannine way and elucidated by favourite Johannine ideas, but from that it by no means follows that we have not here many reminiscences from the address, as for example the appeal to Ps. lxix. 5 (xxxv. 19) for the hatred which was to fall to His share as well as the disciples (xv. 25), and the characteristic description of Jewish fanaticism (xvi. 2), the foundation of which is exactly shown in xvi. 3 (comp. xv. 21, 23 f.), although in Johannine style.

[2] Mark, and following him the first evangelist, has combined this prediction with a similar one which Jesus uttered on the road to the Mount of Olives

That Jesus spoke to the disciples at the last supper of the grievous fate before them is confirmed by John when he makes the parting addresses begin with an exhortation to trust in God, which shows that they had been greatly troubled (John xiv. 1; comp. Matt. x. 29–31). But just as when, in connection with the proclamation of His Passion at Cæsarea Philippi, He had first spoken of the hard times coming upon His disciples, and had pointed consolingly to His return (comp. p. 83), Jesus acts similarly here. Certainly He does not, as in the synoptic discourses, connect it in any way with the fate of Israel, or with the final destiny of man, for doing so there was on this occasion no inducement; what He did say was intended to soothe the disciples. But in both cases the purpose of the second coming is the gathering in of the elect, whom Jesus will rescue from the final catastrophe and take into His heavenly kingdom (Matt. xxiv. 31). On the former occasion Jesus assumed that His auditors would live to see this, and now in an attractive picture of His departure from earth He tells how His intention is to prepare habitations for them in His Father's house, where so many mansions are, so that when He returns He may take them to an abiding communion with Himself (John xiv. 2 f.). The fidelity of the recollection to which we are indebted for these words is guaranteed to us by what we are told of a conversation connected with it. Just as in the Synoptics, we first hear that the disciples were still unable to entertain the idea of His death (comp. p. 76); Thomas therefore asks where Jesus is leading them, and what the way is (John xiv. 5).

(xiv. 26–28); but the way in which Peter presumptuously protests against any idea that he could be offended (xiv. 29) reminds us of John xvi. 1, just as the prediction of denial is, judging from its phraseology, connected with Matt. x. 33. We have here also the recollection of other audacious words from Peter, although with little probability these are introduced after Jesus' prediction, and are said to have been repeated by all the other disciples (Mark xiv. 31). On the other hand, there is no doubt that Mark has recorded Jesus' words in the most accurate form, for even Luke xxii. 34 and John xiii. 38 merely repeat the traditionary form (Matt. xxvi. 34), which only mentions cock-crowing. Moreover, there is no need to show that Jesus did not predict three separate denials, but only intimated that Peter would do so more than once. No doubt criticism has looked on three denials as suspicious when taken in conjunction with the two cock-crowings of which Mark tells, and has talked of a poetic game of forfeits and a "sharp reckoning"!

But Jesus dared not yet tell them this clearly, and He therefore bids Thomas ever remember that as He had formerly been the Mediator of true salvation, He will surely perfect what He has begun (John xiv. 6 f.). We can quite understand how it was that at least one of the disciples demanded security for this final aim. Even if they wilfully shut their eyes to the worst, yet the more the situation became overclouded, the less were the disciples able to conceal from themselves that a grave catastrophe was imminent, and that their Master's cause had great difficulties to encounter; and it was therefore the more probable that they should demand at least a guarantee for the ultimate victory of His cause. We can easily understand how Philip should demand such a theophany as had frequently been granted to men of God in the Old Testament, and we cannot regard this incident as fictional. Had something perhaps been whispered among the company of the apostles about the heavenly voice which the three confidants, or at least one of them, had heard on the Mount of Transfiguration? They would promise to believe even in spite of the disturbances of the time, if Jehovah Himself would appear in the clouds and show them the goal to which He is leading the Messiah (xiv. 8). But not without sorrow does Jesus express His surprise that Philip should so have failed to grasp the true significance of His appearance. If God Himself has come to the people in the Messiah in order, through His words and work, to bring about the execution of His final decrees of salvation, then His appearance is a greater and more glorious revelation of God than any Old Testament theophany (xiv. 9–11).[1]

We see that John preserves a historical reminiscence when he relates that in connection with what Jesus said at the last

[1] This conversation has no doubt been repeated by the evangelist in his own words, and it bears the impress of his favourite ideas; but the prevailing dogmatic exegesis is to blame when people refuse to acknowledge that, agreeably to the context, even xiv. 6 refers to the attainment of that heavenly aim for which Jesus' religio-ethical ministry only created the first conditions; and that xiv. 9 does not speak of a metaphysical unity between Jesus' nature and God's, but of the revelation of God in the most perfect organ of His activity upon earth. This conversation should be protected against the suspicions of free invention by the particular designation of the disciples, as well as by the *motives* which are so genuinely historical and yet so far from being intentional.

supper about the duties which would afterwards fall to His disciples' lot, He held out to them the prospect of a ministry greater and more comprehensive than His own (xiv. 12), for that had been limited by the conditions of His earthly existence (xii. 24). He had told them in Samaria that they should reap what He had sown (iv. 36–38), and it must have been them He meant when from His heavenly exaltation He looked forward to a more extensive activity (xii. 32). The success of their work, however, would not be owing to their own power and skill; they would owe it to Him, their exalted Master, to whom God had given success during His life upon earth; or rather, it would be given them by God through His mediation, for it is the divine will that results are always dependent upon prayer in the name of Jesus (xvi. 24). We are told at one time that it is God Himself who, in answer to their petition, gives them what they need to create the fruit He has put them there to bring (xv. 16); at another, it is Jesus Himself who performs what they ask in His name (xiv. 13), indeed what they ask from Himself (xv. 14). It follows from this, of course, that prayer in His name does not mean what at the present day people are unjustifiably accustomed to read into this expression, though induced to do so by perfectly correct dogmatic reflections. It is only said that the disciples shall not ask what their own desires would lead them to do, but only what Jesus directs them to demand on behoof of the continuation of His work—what they entreat for in His stead (comp. v. 43, x. 25). When they were first sent out they could heal the sick and expel the demons only because they were commissioned to do so by Jesus, and had confidence in God; and in the same way every success they shall meet with in their subsequent labours will depend upon their confident petitions in His name. Their labours are only the continuation of His ministry, and serve, just as that did, to the glorifying of the Father (xv. 13), for whose realm it is their duty to win souls.

In this connection Jesus no doubt pointed out the means by which at His petition the Father would prepare them for such a successful ministry—to the equipment by the Spirit, which would enable all to enter upon it who were truly faithful and obedient to Him (xiv. 15 ff.). Since we know

that the disciples saw in the Divine Spirit, which filled them at their first appearance, the fulfilment of a promise which they had received from their exalted Master (Acts ii. 33), it is absolutely inconceivable that Jesus should only have made that one reference to the communication of the Spirit, which we find in the synoptic tradition, and which, as we have seen, was spoken at the last supper (Matt. x. 20). We have already heard in the Baptist's words of the gift of the Spirit to be bestowed by the Messiah in the Messianic age (Matt. iii. 11), and to which Jesus had referred when speaking with Nicodemus (John iii. 5). There is no doubt, therefore, that in those last addresses, as given by John, we constantly hear the vibration of the chord which was struck in that first promise (Matt. x. 19 f.); the Spirit always appears as the assistant, who after Jesus' departure will strengthen the disciples in executing their calling, though, of course, this will not only be the case when they witness for Him and His cause before Councils. Nay, the principal endeavour of the parting addresses was to explain to them the significance for their whole ministry of this greatest of all the divine gifts.[1] Only when the great Jonah sign of His resurrection had been given (Matt. xii. 39 f.; comp. John viii. 28) could the Spirit enable them to convince those who still disbelieved of the righteousness of Jesus which had been approved therein, of the actually completed condemnation of the devil who had caused His death, and therefore of the sin of their own unbelief (John

[1] It is probably owing to the literary arrangement of these last speeches that what is said about the Spirit and its operations (xvi. 7–15) seems to be meant as a consolation for Jesus' personal departure, and even xiv. 15–17 presents a series of more emphatic solacements; but the latter passage is really only a Johannine representation of the fact that the disciples of Jesus will have an advantage over the world in respect of the possession of the Spirit, for the gift of which the world is not receptive; therefore xvi. 7–11, which describes the operation of it upon the world, naturally thinks of it as being produced by the disciples. In xiv. 26 an incidental retrospective glance to Jesus' words anticipates a point of what is said more in detail in xvi. 12–15 about His importance for the disciples themselves. Connected with the promise in Matt. x. 19 f. is the designation of the Spirit as the Paraclete who will take Jesus' place at His departure, and here the evangelist has used the strongest personification, almost going the length of hypostatizing. But we can easily understand that everything said about the sending of the Spirit, to which the experience of the evangelist was as a commentary to the words of Jesus, is peculiarly strong in Johannine phraseology (comp. vol. i. p. 123 f.).

xvi. 7–11). Only under the Spirit's guidance could they attain to a more perfect remembrance of all that Jesus had said (xiv. 26), and to a growing perception of all that Jesus had not been able to tell them on account of their limited capacity for comprehending Him. It was not as if the Spirit could teach them anything surpassing the perfected revelation which had appeared in Jesus' person; what He could teach them was how to understand that more completely and appropriate it more thoroughly (xvi. 12–15). It is evident from the nature of the case that even here the evangelist has only preserved some isolated expressions; they are particularly those which bear upon his own peculiar view and representation of the "discourses of Christ," but Jesus' explanations regarding the nature and operation of the Spirit promised by Him must have been more extensive as well as more touching.

Jesus' principal reason for reserving these last hours was to communicate to the disciples a powerful consolation for the heavy catastrophe that stood before them—the promise of His reappearance after the resurrection. Any allusion to His resurrection was doubly incomprehensible to them, since they found it impossible to grasp the thought of His death; but they could never forget how He said to them that He would not leave them orphans, but would return to them again; yet a little while, and as regards unbelievers He would quit this earth for ever, but He would reappear to strengthen the faith and perfect the new life He had established in His followers (xiv. 18–20).[1] He certainly would not come in order to renew the old intercourse of their earthly life, but to assure them of His personal existence, and to break a path for a higher spiritual intercourse with them

[1] These words can neither be made to refer to the second coming, which in xiv. 3 Jesus had promised them in such a different way, nor to the bestowal of the Spirit; for this second beholding is distinctly grounded upon His resurrection, and is opposed to the "not-beholding," which, for the world, begins with His death. Moreover, the opposition in which this promise is placed, to the sorrow so soon to come upon them and to the triumph of His enemies over His death, and the fact that He promises to see them again (xvi. 16, xx. 22), makes it impossible that this could be a "return in the spirit," as is usually supposed. Johannine phraseology is certainly strongly impressed upon xiv. 19 f., but the thoughts at the basis of that passage undoubtedly rest upon historical reminiscence.

that would be subjected to no change or separation. But the permanent manifestations of this communion, whether they be regarded as inward or as outward operations of power and proofs of assistance, He distinctly connects, in contradistinction to His appearances after the resurrection, with the confirming of the disciples in love and obedience, and like the Synoptists He represents this as a recompense prepared for them by His Father's love and His own (xiv. 21). That true reminiscences lay at the foundation of this account is evident from John's relating how the other Judas (comp. Luke vi. 16) thought the statement referred to the final revelation of His Messianic glory, and asked in amazement how it was that Jesus could renounce the universal character of this manifestation, which seemed to be an integral feature of the Messianic hope (xiv. 22). Jesus, however, repeats His promise, for He indicated that what was treated of here was the fulfilment of that old divine promise according to which Jehovah, in His Messiah, would make His dwelling among His people (Matt. xviii. 20; comp. p. 134 f.); and once more He exhorts the disciples, instead of inquiring into the manner of it, to make themselves worthy by fulfilling the appointed condition (xiv. 23 f.).

The hour of separation was now nigh at hand. When at parting Jesus wishes them peace, He tells them distinctly that He does not use the word as people generally are in the habit of doing, as a well-meant or a meaningless wish. The peace which filled His own soul enabled Him to still the fearfulness of their hearts by promising to return. No doubt it seemed as if this peace was constantly troubled by grief at the present separation; but if they truly loved Him, they would even rejoice at His going to the Father, who is greater than He, and in whose immutable glory Jesus will share. Touchingly does Jesus show how it was a duty of affection they owed to Him to rise above the anguish of separation. He knows well how far they still are from being able to do this fully, but the very reason why He had said so much about His departure was to give them a firm hold in that terrible trial of faith which was coming upon them. For nearer and nearer is the hour approaching when the power of evil will make its last vain attack upon Him. But He shall

not fall into the hands of His enemies vanquished and helpless; it shall be manifest to every one that He meets His fate in voluntary obedience to His Father (xiv. 27–31).

With these words Jesus rose from supper. But oppressed by the thought of the feebleness of these disciples of His, to whom He had still so much to say that was needful for comforting their hearts and strengthening their faith, He went on talking while they stood around Him.[1] Again He repeats His promises of return, and John remembers still how enigmatical these words then seemed to them. They had begun to understand that He had been speaking of His departure from earth and His return to the Father (comp. xvi. 5 f.), so that they might perhaps think He meant a final return to complete His work, but never a return for "a little while" (xvi. 16–18). We see here, what is evident from John himself, that Jesus must have spoken of that return more frequently than the evangelist has described, as well as in a different way, and that they could apprehend this thought with greater facility than that of a reappearance directly after death. But we know from Mark how the disciples were oppressed with gloomy forebodings, and dared not investigate this dark mystery by inquiries (Mark ix. 32); but here Jesus anticipates their questions, and tells them at once that they shall live to see His enemies triumph, but that their sorrow will be suddenly changed into joy. Quite in the synoptic way He made this clear to them through a parable: A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she is delivered of the

[1] In xiv. 31 the evangelist refers to the words with which Jesus advanced to meet His enemies in Gethsemane (Mark xiv. 42); but this is plainly done in order to direct attention to the voluntary acceptance of suffering which He exhibited there, and it does not exclude the essential historicity of the farewell words. For as John xviii. 1 does not permit of putting the speeches contained in chaps. xv.–xvii. in any other situation than those in chaps. xiii. xiv., and, as, on the other hand, no explanation is given of the surprising continuation of the speech, but which is certainly not fictional on that account, so there must be here a vivid reminiscence of the moment when Jesus rose from supper. Of course this does not mean that John could remember exactly what was said before and after this rising from table. Undoubtedly he has here gathered together much that really belongs to earlier addresses to the more intimate band of disciples (xv. 1–17), and possibly the prophecy of suffering (xv. 18–xvi. 4), and the promise of the Spirit so closely connected with it (xvi. 5–15), rather belong to the commencement of the last discourses.

child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world (xvi. 19–22).

Yet again did Jesus remind them that this meeting would not renew the earlier intercourse. But neither would they require it, for only after His work was completed would they be fully conscious of the new relation He had effected between them and the Father. This is the new covenant with God, of which He had spoken when handing them the consecrated cup, to which He here refers; in it is realized for the first time the religious relation of the subject of the kingdom to God, which is intended by the perfected divine revelation. Hitherto they had had One with them to whom they could turn in every need with their petitions; then they would go to the heavenly Father Himself, and receive from Him the answer to all their requests (xvi. 23 f.).[1] Agreeably to His figurative and parabolic way of speaking, Jesus had hitherto pointed to this new relationship to God by the figure of sonship, which so frequently formed the foundation of His parabolic addresses. But the hour was coming when He would tell them without parables how the Father loves all who have been led to become subjects of the kingdom of God through love to the Messiah and faith in Him; when that time came they would no longer require His intercession when they prayed in His name. Exaltation to the Father will form the completion of His life's work, and the consummation will assure them of the truth of this (xvi. 25–28).[2] The apostle still recollects that the disciples believed the time had already come when Jesus would speak to them without

[1] When the evangelist says that instead of Him who has hitherto done so God will give them everything they need, it is, evident from the connection that their petitions will be accepted instead of His who has hitherto asked God for everything they require. This, however, is not the original meaning of prayer in His name (comp. p. 310), it is an application of what the evangelist said in connection with the promise of the Paraclete (xiv. 26), and in consequence of this what is said about their petitions (xiv. 13 f.) is made to refer to their official ministry, to which there is here really no allusion.

[2] It seems to have been in this sense that Jesus once more looked back upon His life's work, although the commencement and close of it are described in a truly Johannine way (xvi. 28). In what went before Jesus may have had in view that He will speak to the disciples in the Spirit He sends to them, and which, because operating inwardly, will directly determine their spiritual consciousness, and give them perfect clearness and assurance; and the peculiar way in which the operation of the Spirit is here described—for the evangelist

parables; and they thought that from the way in which He answered their unasked questions they recognised the Searcher of hearts, and thereby attained to a more complete faith in Him.[1] But Jesus concluded by saying that they would have to attest their faith by severe trials; and again He pointed to the troubles which were in store for them, and tried to encourage them by hoping that His victory over the last attack would enable them to preserve the peace (xvi. 29–33).

All that was agitating His soul Jesus then gathered into a prayer, which He offered aloud for the strengthening of the disciples (xvii. 13). These words have always been reverenced by Christendom as the most sacred and glorious of those which fell from Jesus' lips, and one can scarcely resolve to put them to a critical examination; and yet it is evident that the moment of profound agitation in which the disciples heard the prayer, was the least favourable for fixing it in their memories. But indeed a mere glance at it shows that Johannine phraseology and views are more deeply imprinted upon this prayer than upon any other passage, so much so, that no demonstration of the fact is needed. Notwithstanding this, however, we have here, too, such vivid reminiscences of what was spoken of during that sacred hour, that only prejudice against the Fourth Gospel could suppose that this was a free composition by the evangelist.

Jesus began by giving God an account of His work upon earth. He had finished the work entrusted to Him by the Father; this band of disciples in which He had planted faith in His divine commission, and to which He had mediated the greatest revelation of God, testified that His labours had not been in vain. But still greater things were decreed for Him; and in order that He may be able to execute them He asks

usually thinks of the Spirit as taking Christ's place—is a testimony for the genuineness of these words. But this does not give the slightest ground for explaining the coming of Jesus to be a coming in the spirit, especially as even xiv. 21 speaks of the proclamations of the exalted Christ. But the usual assumption that the Fourth Gospel made Jesus' return a return in the spirit is shattered by xiv. 3, and has no point of contact in the whole Gospel.

[1] For criticism indeed, the remark by the disciples (xvi. 29 f.) is only another of those fictional misapprehensions by means of which the evangelist continues the dialogue. But as anything of the kind is neither confirmed nor removed, the text affords no support for this assumption.

to be exalted to His Father, for that will alone enable Him to execute completely God's will for salvation (comp. xii. 32), and through the knowledge of which the Father will be greatly glorified. His glance then penetrates that celestial glory He is so soon to enter upon, and here if anywhere we understand how it was that in this solemn moment the deepest secret of His self-consciousness once more found clear expression (comp. xvii. 5). This glory is certainly nothing new or unknown to Him; it is only His original condition to which He returns; it is that mysterious fountain from which comes His commission, His election, His life in the love of God (xvii. 1–8).

When quitting this earth, nothing rested more on Jesus' heart than the petitions for His disciples, who had to remain behind in order to continue His work: As He has guarded them, so may they be guarded by the great God in the midst of the temptations presented by the hostility of the world.[1] But even for their future calling they must be consecrated and prepared by God; He can do nothing more than give Himself a sacrifice for their sakes (xvii. 9–19). This leads Him to pray for those who shall believe through their influence. We have here a genuinely Johannine description of the purpose for which Jesus prays—the unity of believers in that mystical relationship with the Father and the Son which is brought about by the true perception of God in Christ. Essentially this is just what, according to the testimony of the synoptic Gospels, Jesus had ever striven for—that kingdom of God in which, both in this world and in that to come, the ideal of religio-ethical existence is realized. For the petition looks forward to the future consummation in which the believers shall behold His glory, and in it the highest revelation of the divine love which had belonged to the Son before the creation of the world (xvii. 20–24). But here, too, God's ways may have a twofold termination. Besides those who perceive in Jesus the greatest of all the divine revelations, there will not be wanting some who will

[1] That genuine reminiscences lie at the foundation of this, is evident from the way in which the evangelist afterwards explains xvii. 2 by the guarding of the disciples from arrest (xviii. 9), and therefore the very different interpretation it has in this connection cannot possibly be his own invention.

close their eyes and heart to it. Just as in the speeches concerning the future, given in the Synoptics, the consummation of salvation is preceded by the judgment, so at the conclusion of this prayer Jesus appeals to the righteousness of the Father, who will permit those, but only those, to be sharers in the full completeness of His love (xvii. 25 f.).

It has been thought incomprehensible that any one who could so pray should afterwards have trembled in Gethsemane with fear; and it has been alleged that the evangelist wished to replace that prayer in Gethsemane of which he says nothing with the petition offered by his Logos Christ. But we can easily understand why the evangelist lingered over this prayer instead of that one, for his intention was to show how the eye-witnesses of Jesus' life beheld His divine glory (i. 14). And the fact that the clearest consciousness of the glorious termination of His life's work and His own destiny did not prevent a shrinking from the dark paths by which both were to be reached, only proves that Jesus was a man in the full sense of the word, and that the victory spoken of in His parting words (xvi. 33) was not to be won even by Him without a struggle.

CHAPTER V.

GETHSEMANE.

WHEN Jesus left the town with His disciples, He crossed the brook Cedron (John xviii. 1), and ascended the western slope of the Mount of Olives. He did not think of His own fate; for His thoughts were lingering over the heavy trial which awaited His disciples. On the way He had spoken to them of the difficulties which the decision of His fate would entail on them. The old prophetic utterance possessed His mind: I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered (Zech. xiii. 7); and this prediction He had put before the disciples as a warning, for He was greatly apprehensive that the blow, which was about to fall on Him, would also affect His disciples and disperse them dejected and hopeless to their homes. Here also He reflected on the time when they should see Him again; and it is the most striking proof of the authenticity of John's version of the farewell words and their promises of another meeting, when Jesus says, as if adding something to a well-discussed theme, that they would again find Him there after His resurrection (Mark xiv. 26–28).[1]

Gethsemane was now reached. It is usually supposed that this was a farm on the Mount of Olives, but the phraseology of Mark does not accord with that idea (xiv. 32). Jesus wished to be alone, and He certainly never thought of being received by kind friends. The name applies to a remote part

[1] The undoubted fact that Jesus' fears were not fulfilled, shows clearly that these words were no mere literary invention composed as an addendum to Old Testament prophecy. Even in John's Gospel there is a reminiscence of this in the farewell discourses of Jesus (xvi. 32). It is not impossible that the disciples may have protested against this underrating of their courage and of their faith, and that Mark alone, by connecting it with the prediction relating to Peter, has represented the protest as an acquiescence in his presumptuous words (Mark xiv. 31; comp. p. 307, note).

of the mountain, where an oil-press was situated, which was most likely entirely forsaken, or at least was at that season unemployed. Beside it was a garden, *i.e.* an enclosed plantation of old olive trees. It is an unwarranted and degrading assumption that Jesus, who foresaw the approaching catastrophe with so much clearnsss, had any thought of seeking for secrecy or "a little security" behind the fence. As Judas well knew (John xviii. 2), it was a favourite place with Him, for He had spent many quiet evening hours there with His disciples. This is the only way in which we can understand how the betrayer knew where to find Him;[1] and Jesus, who saw His divinely-appointed destiny hastening towards its fulfilment, had no reason for preventing it. The next short hour was still His own, and in it He wished to be alone with His God.

He then told the disciples to sit down at the entrance to the garden, and took with Him Peter and James and John, from whom He did not wish to hide what He was suffering. Now that the decisive hour was approaching, the thought of the horrors which lay before Him prostrated Him with sheer terror. His genuine humanity is very apparent in the change from the exalted peace of soul in the farewell discourses to the terror of this hour; then He was completely absorbed in the work of His disciples, and in the highest aims of His own mission; but now He begins to think of Himself, and of His own fate. Inner unrest, and fear of the weird and imminent future, increased in Him every moment. His soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death; it seemed as if all strength and courage had deserted Him, and He felt that He had become the prey of death. In such a frame of mind it is necessary to be alone, yet not quite alone;

[1] Keim gives himself useless trouble when he attempts to extract from John's account that Judas did not part from Jesus until the latter had set out for Gethsemane, in order that he might have some clue in tracking Him; for even if that were the case he could see that He went to the Mount of Olives, and could only find Him, if, as John tells distinctly, he knew the place whither Jesus was wont to resort, and first of all sought Him there. According to Keim, on the contrary, John only represented the place as having been made known to Judas in order to testify to the voluntary nature of Jesus' sacrifice; and he removes the scene to the valley on the other side of Cedron, of which certainly John xviii. 1 says nothing, "in order that Jesus might at once present Himself to the officers before the city gate."

therefore He bade His three disciples remain and watch with Him (Mark xiv. 32–34). The proximity of beloved ones is a consolation in such crises, even when they cannot help and may not disturb. What He had to do in that hour, was to be done with God alone.

Such heathen opponents of Christianity as Celsus and Julian, have mockingly pointed to this Jesus who trembled at the thought of death. Others have recalled Socrates, who quaffed the poisoned cup with manly composure, and the martyrs who for his sake went to meet more fearful tortures with songs of praise.[1] The foundation of this error is the false idea that Jesus dreaded the death of the body, and trembled on account of the pains and agonies which were before Him. Proceeding upon the assumption, it has been said, and not without justification, that the stoical calmness of the philosopher is not a natural expression of humanity, but a violently forced abstraction, and that the shudder of a sensitive nature before death, and particularly a death of torture, is not only justified, but its intensity rather shows the greatness of the sacrifice which Jesus made, when in obedience to His high calling He gave Himself up to such a death. But the prevalent opinion that Jesus foreknew the terrible details of what was before Him, certainly assumes the possession of a divine omniscience which, according to the testimony of the Gospels, was not His; this assump-

[1] Schleiermacher found this trembling so much out of keeping with the ideal of Christ which he himself had formed, and also so hard to reconcile with the Johannine farewell discourses, that he has actually questioned the authenticity of this account, or says that it must at least have been founded on a prior episode. When Strauss and others reject the narrative either wholly or in its concrete details, they do so entirely because they cannot assent to the unconditional certainty possessed by Jesus as to the nearness of His end, which it presupposes. But the authenticity of our narrative is not only confirmed by the reference to it in Heb. v. 7, but still more by the unlikelihood that such fear would be falsely attributed to Jesus by tradition. Almost worse than the disputation of this experience of Jesus, is the explanation given by ancient and modern rationalism, that it was caused by physical indisposition and a sentimental retrospect of that fairest period of His life which He had spent in Galilee. The same may be said of the harsh declaration of the Wolfenbüttel fragmentist, that Jesus at last recognised how He had been deceived, and that it affected Him even unto death. We cannot, however, regard His fearfulness as in any way produced by seeing His work brought to nought, or by feeling that there was any contradiction between His fate and that for which He had been predestined, for thereby His prediction as to His lot of suffering would be made of no account.

tion tallies with the secondary form of His prophetic words, which tradition was so fond of applying to particulars of His fate, but not with the fact that no adequately attested word of Jesus warrants the assertion that He had a special foreknowledge of His crucifixion. Much truer was Weisse's reflection, that, regarded from a purely psychological point of view, agony of the soul is enhanced and fear for the future increased by the imminence of a gloomy fate, the particular form of which is but shudderingly foreboded, with no clear perception of its attendant circumstances. It has always been felt, however, and rightly too, that that is not enough. In other and similar circumstances that agony would have been replaced by quiet sorrow, by the thought of His nearest and dearest, by the pain caused by the treachery of His friend, by the sadness evoked by the delusion of the multitude or the blind rage of His enemies; and when the contradiction of His fate and His innocence is added, previous experience teaches us that this consciousness was, humanly speaking, the only power which could triumph over this most fearful fate.

And yet there is some truth in these deductions. The most fearful part of the destiny which awaited Jesus was not that He must die, and die by the hands of His enemies, but that His earthly life, which had been consumed in loving service to His people, and in striving after their salvation, should be ended by an unparalleled crime on the part of this very people. It was God's chosen nation, and on it He had just conferred His highest token of favour by sending His Messiah. That this people should act in an unprecedentedly wicked way, and put God's Holy One to death with ignominy and torment, was the climax of all sin, and at the same time the divine judgment on their crime; for, according to the teaching of Scripture, and according to the experience of all who have come to understand what sin is, the most fearful punishment with which God's holy law visits sin, is that it continues to engender other sins, till it has reached its utmost limits, when, humanly speaking, no conversion is any longer possible, and it has eternally separated the sinner from God. Jesus' entire life-work, and all the importunity with which ardent love for His

people had made Him daily besiege His Father's heart for a successful result to His work, had been animated by the sole purpose of averting this extreme climax. Notwithstanding, it now approached with all its terrors; for this was the dispensation of God, who had given the people up to their sin: and this sin of His people, which was at the same time their punishment, fell on Him, and He was obliged to bear it. What in other cases is only endured by the sinner, from whom God averts His holy countenance in anger, had now to be endured by Him, the pure and sinless One, because it was laid on Him by the sin of the people, and because God's hand did not intervene to turn it away from His head. He had long had a premonition of the secret of the divine purpose of love which in this extremity, borne for love of His people, prepared the last means of salvation for the people, nay, for all mankind, and which caused this divine judgment to expiate the sin of the whole world, and serve as a basis on which God could enter into a new covenant of mercy and salvation with emancipated man. But even this thought could not remove the terror of that awful doom before whose ominous approach His soul trembled.[1]

This is the only explanation of Jesus' anguish in Gethsemane. Going a short distance apart from His disciples, He had thrown Himself on the ground in earnest prayer, of which the disciples only heard a few words; but what they did comprehend was that Jesus begged that, if possible, the hour of terror might be spared Him. He invoked God's omnipotence, which must have other means of attaining its ends; and He appealed to the love of the Father that this foreordained cup of suffering might pass from Him, but He always made His human wish subservient to the divine will:

[1] Those are the authentic facts on which rests the apostolic proclamation of a Saviour, who bears and expiates the sin of men, and to which we must refer Jesus' mention of the blood of the new covenant, and of the ransom which saves the souls of many. The dogmatic way in which some have set about proving and testifying this may be called in question; but therein consists the unique character of Jesus' death, and this uniqueness is the sole but also a sufficient explanation of His painful struggle in Gethsemane, and cannot be controverted unless, like Keim, we refer everything to physical and psychical conditions or other causes, and endeavour with big words and weak reasons to palliate what is after all inexcusable.

Yet not what I will, but what Thou wilt (Mark xiv. 35 f.). This shatters at a blow the theory that Jesus had all along regarded His redemptive death as the actual goal of His earthly life. Then, and only then, could it be said that He was overcome by a human dread of suffering; it was in the last moment before the fulfilment of the divine will, although He finally subjected Himself to it. But indeed He could only pray God to accomplish His loving purpose in another way—one which would rescue Him and spare Him the terrible experiences which lay before Him after a certain point had been reached. Human sin, for whose overthrow He had striven all His life, had at last become an insurmountable barrier, which appeared as if it would separate His people, and mankind generally, from their God for ever, and would bring to nought the saving work of His life. In His approaching death He read the divine purpose to break down that barrier and rescue the world, by visiting on Him, the sinless One, the judgment of sin and all its terrors. Such was the occasion of a prayer, to which but one response was possible, and the Father communicated it to Him with irrefutable certainty. According to the eternal decree of His holiness and of His love, no other way was possible. Jesus did not immediately become aware of this response, for He strove long and earnestly with God, as He had once commanded His disciples to do. Again and again He returned to the disciples to be refreshed after the anguish of such a struggle, by the human assuagement which the society of beloved ones affords even to the severest afflictions. Again and again did He go and throw Himself to the ground in ardent prayer (Mark xiv. 35, 39, 41) till the victory was gained, till He had become cognizant of God's reply, and till the clear certainty, which He had obtained, restored to Him His full measure of joy in submitting to the Father's will, which He was eager to fulfil in His inexhaustible love to men.[1]

[1] The first evangelist tries to show how Jesus attained gradually to that certainty (Matt. xxvi. 39–44), but a glance at the parallel passage in Mark teaches us that this is an entirely literary elaboration of the passage before us; and every more careful analysis of the narrative shows that Mark does not, as he supposes, recount three special acts of prayer, but only means to describe how Jesus again and again reverted to the prayer, whose purport is indicated in ver. 35 f. Luke, who has certainly derived his information from another source,

What Jesus sought from His disciples each time that He returned to them, and what He had expected to receive when He took them into the garden, was only granted in a very imperfect degree. He had sought for sympathy with His deepest suffering, and His life with His disciples closed with a great disappointment. The tension of the long evening hours, which had continued to increase during these conversations with Jesus, now gave way, when they were alone in the darkness of the garden, and the supplicating cries of Jesus became more and more incomprehensible, as His emotion increased and could not be expressed in words. They were not oppressed by fear nor by terror, feelings which always rouse the powers of man, but a gloomy sadness overshadowed them in view of the dark inexplicable fate which they had a presentiment of, without seeing clearly. Physical exhaustion was also making itself felt, and when Jesus returned to them the first time, He found them asleep. Peter must often have told how Jesus woke them with a gentle reproach, and addressing each of them, spoke to Peter thus: Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst not thou watch one hour? Even then He forgot Himself and thought of them, warning them against the weakness of the flesh, which so often causes the spirit to fall in the hour of temptation; therefore He admonished them to watch and pray (Matt. xiv. 37 f.). It is not true that He thereby acknowledges His own weakness, and He said nothing whatever of the "anguish of maintaining life" which puts an end to all good-will whenever the hour of need comes. The disciples, who nevertheless meant well to Him, had given way to their sensuous nature, and it is a matter of indifference whether they were lulled to sleep by their vague feelings or by physical weariness. When the clearness of spirit, which is only strengthened and made lasting by prayer, is lacking, temptation is not noticed till it has gained the victory, because the weakness of the flesh,

knows nothing whatever about three acts of prayer (xxii. 41 f.). What his present text relates of the angel who strengthened Jesus, and of the sweat, like drops of blood, which His renewed agony caused to fall to the ground, has been proved by critics to be of such doubtful genuineness, uncertain origin, and at the same time of so little moment for understanding the scene, that it is better for a historical description to pass it over entirely.

which is so easily mastered by the most various impulses, is not paralyzed by a will ever awake to its task.

Jesus did not succeed in overcoming the somnolency of His disciples. Again and again He found them asleep; they noticed His mute reproach when they awoke, but they had no excuse to make for themselves. They had succumbed to the weakness of the flesh, against which He had forewarned them (Mark xiv. 39 f.). But when He came for the last time with the fairest of victor's wreaths about His head, and with the peace of God which irradiates the countenance of him whose prayer has been heard, He no longer asked them to keep awake. It is enough! He said. The hour had come, for the averting of which He had just been wrestling in prayer; and with this certainty came the peace of resignation which took from Him any further need of consolation and companionship. That from which He had prayed for any possible escape, had now become an unalterably fixed fact of the future: "Behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners." He no longer feels as if He had to deal with the nation, He is to be given up to a world of sinners, that they may do to Him what will at the same time be their judgment and their salvation. This means, of course, that He is to be snatched away from His own, and that He will have to suffer what is harder to bear than the loss of the company of the disciples. Therefore they may sleep on now and take their rest; He no longer requires them (Mark xiv. 41).

It was indeed too late. A wild tumult resounds up the Mount of Olives through the stillness of the night. It comes nearer and nearer. Torches already flicker through the deep shadows of the trees, spears flash, the threatening tread of a Roman detachment is heard approaching the entrance of the garden. Armed men draw near. The time for sleep is certainly past, and what Jesus said when He rose from the supper is verified. All at once the sleepers are roused to a terrible consciousness by His words: Arise, let us be going; behold, he that betrayeth me is at hand (Mark xiv. 42).

It is well known that there is seldom any strictly defined account of moments such as this and those which followed it. The terrible deed is accomplished by one stroke after another;

and before full consciousness of the situation could be attained, Jesus had fallen into the hands of His enemies. There is no doubt that the disciples whom Jesus left at the entrance to the garden took to flight, whenever they knew of the approach of armed men. Judas' being at the head of the troop, showed clearly enough that they were betrayed. It was self-evident that the men with swords and staves were sent by the supreme Council to take Jesus; but they might also have designs against all the disciples, who were certainly not in a position to defend Jesus. That would not have been so absolutely certain if the hierarchy, as on previous occasions, had only sent their servants (John xviii. 3; comp. vii. 45), who, at most, could arm themselves with nothing more deadly than staves. A band of eleven resolute men, who in any case were not quite unarmed, as Luke presupposes in his description of the last supper (Luke xxii. 38), might easily offer resistance, and whether it was the Passover night or not, they could have alarmed the Galileans who were in Jerusalem, by the news that violent hands had been laid on their prophet. Then such a tumult as they had endeavoured to avoid might have arisen among the people, whose dimensions and results could not be calculated, and the whole plan, which had been constructed on Judas' betrayal, would have been brought to nought. The hierarchy would have been very short-sighted if they had not foreseen such a likelihood; and John therefore, for the sake of greater precision, relates that the Roman cohort, which was stationed in the fortress Antonia, took part in the capture. Of course it is only the criticism of a certain school which speaks of half an army being called out against Jesus, so that representatives of the whole world, Jews and Romans, might be arrayed against Him as enemies. The hierarchy had evidently given notice to the procurator that they were desirous of the capture of a dangerous man, an act which might easily lead to a tumult among the people, and the procurator accordingly sent out a regiment, not of course to effect the capture, but to be at hand in case of need (John xviii. 3).[1]

[1] This simple statement of the matter shows the worthlessness of the objections to the Johannine account, whose sequel clearly shows that no interference

Of all the incidents which took place at Jesus' capture, tradition has been most impressed by the revolting fact that Judas advanced at the head of the multitude, and hastening forward to greet Jesus as his Master, kissed Him with a simulated tenderness (Mark xiv. 44 f.). It has been regarded as surprising that the officers did not know Jesus, and there has even been some suspicion expressed of this being mere imitation of an Old Testament passage (2 Sam. xx. 9), or a figurative expression for the unnatural deed of Judas. But the possibility that one of His disciples might wish to sacrifice himself for the Master, and that a change of the person might finally spoil the success of the enterprise in the haste and confusion, was not so entirely improbable as to make such a precautionary measure unnecessary. Moreover, the hypocritical ceremonious greeting has after all been explained by a mere supposition, even although it is the most probable one. How efforts were made again and again to attain to a clear knowledge of this repulsive scene, is evidenced by the various attempts of the evangelists to formulate the words in which Jesus expressed His indignation. According to the first, Jesus, with a stifled voice, commanded Judas to do that for which he had come (Matt. xxvi. 50; comp. John xiii. 27) without delay; but according to the third, He drew a direct comparison between the mark of love and his treacherous purpose (Luke xxii. 48). Luke does not once

was made on the part of the Romans with the action of the Jewish authorities. Even the synoptic narrative distinguishes between the regular soldiers and those who were only furnished with staves (Mark xiv. 43); some suppose them to have been the watch of the temple, who, according to Josephus,—as Keim himself points out,—were almost wholly unarmed; but this theory is of little critical value, and the only support it has is the reference to the captains of the temple in Luke's secondary account (xxii. 52), which represents them as coming into suspicious contiguity to the hierarchs, just that it may give the only appropriateness possible to some words of Jesus recorded by Mark, which could in no wise have been, and, as we shall see from John, were not spoken to the officers. We cannot decide whether the military tribune commanded the detachment in person (John xviii. 12), or whether John erroneously supposed that he did so; but without in any way changing his words, we may well believe that the evangelist did not imagine that the whole cohort was present. It is, however, easier to believe that they came out with lanterns and torches (John xviii. 3), even by full moon, that they might not miss their way in the thick shade of the olive groves, than it is to follow Keim in ascribing such a poor witticism to the evangelist, as to insinuate that these men of darkness wished to seek the light of the world with lanterns.

say that Jesus rejected the kiss of Judas, and from Mark we see—what is a matter of course—that tradition gave no information as to what Jesus said.

Criticism is right when it says that John purposely gave no details, because he wished to demonstrate exclusively the sublime voluntariness with which Jesus gave Himself up to the officers. It is overlooked, however, that the synoptic writers have recorded Jesus' resolution in exactly the same words as John (Mark xiv. 42; comp. John xiv. 31), and the Judas kiss could not affect it. It is thus self-evident that Judas hastened in front of the watch to show them the way, and even without words Jesus would soon put an end to his caresses, for He had now a double cause for showing that it was not mean artifice which delivered Him into the hands of His enemies, but His own free submission to the divine will, which was being fulfilled in Him. Besides, His question as to what the officers wanted, and the manner in which He makes Himself known to them, show that John also supposed that Jesus was not immediately recognised by the servants of the high priests. But when he relates how the officers as well as Judas fell to the ground with terror, it may at once be granted that the impression which Jesus' procedure made on the eye-witnesses was exaggerated in his remembrance of the occurrence. But after all, there was no real need of a special display of Christ's miraculous power to produce this impression. They had all heard and seen much of the mighty deeds of Jesus, and the supposition that He would voluntarily surrender to them was more unlikely to be entertained by them than the superstitious fear that He would free Himself by a miracle and punish them for this attempt on His freedom; it is, however, impossible to estimate the extent of the terror which was thus excited.[1] Moreover, it was no mere demonstration when Jesus delivered Himself up without resistance, and calmed them by repeatedly asking: Whom seek ye? The object of this, as John's record testifies, was to prevent the imprisonment of any of His disciples along with Him (John xviii. 4–8). For although the order of the

[1] The extension of this influence to the Roman cohorts, who had nothing whatever to do with the capture, is quite an untenable theory of criticism, which has only the effect of making the whole affair appear improbable.

guard certainly referred to His person only, it was clear that the slightest appearance of an attempt at resistance would involve them in His fate.

After all, however, an attempt at resistance was made. None of our narratives tell us at what moment it actually was that one of the disciples smote the high priest's servant with a sword, and cut off an ear—an act which only placed the disciples in danger, without rendering any service to Jesus. None of the eye-witnesses, and the actors probably least of all, in the midst of the consternation and confusion, knew exactly when and in what connection this catastrophe occurred. In all our Gospels it is only related as an episode, and yet it must have taken place before Jesus had surrendered and been taken prisoner. We have in this a second reason which makes it comprehensible why Jesus, after shortly rebuking His disciple for his rash deed, should obviate the imminent consequences of such an act on His disciples by a prompt and voluntary surrender. The oldest narrative certainly did not know who that disciple was (Mark xiv. 47); but it is a curious idea to think that his name was purposely concealed in order to keep him out of danger. What we do learn from this is that Mark had ceased here to derive his information from Peter; for this Gospel testifies abundantly that Peter was not the man to keep silence about that which did him no honour. We should have guessed that it was the quick impetuous Peter, even if John had not expressly said so (John xviii. 10); and the fact that the high priest is also named, proves that it was no mere anti-Petrine prejudice which made John ascribe the sword-stroke to Peter. Otherwise, we must look for some special quibble on the word Malchus, and criticism is not yet unanimous as to where the point of the witticism lay.[1] In any case, after Jesus delivered Himself up, He was led away, bound, of course, as John relates, for it was

[1] We can quite understand that the probably brief words, with which Jesus rebuked the action of Peter, have not been transmitted literally. Most improbable of all is the didactic exposition of its criminal character in the first Gospel, although there is doubtless some recollection of a genuine utterance of Jesus in the beautiful words which say that if it accorded with God's purpose, legions of angels would be sent in answer to His prayer (Matt. xiv. 50–52). We can hardly ascribe authenticity even to John's record, for the command to put up his sword into the sheath is framed in words which are too evidently

considered necessary to take precautions against any attempt at escape. The Roman detachment, too, escorted the procession, and anticipated every attempt at a rescue (John xviii. 12). But Jerusalem slept in peace, and did not know what had happened.

Even Peter and the sons of Zebedee did not wait to see if they would also be captured; but whenever they saw that there was nothing more to be hoped for, they fled like the other disciples. It would appear, too, as if they just made their escape in good time, and that the officers only let them escape when first surprised at Jesus' advance. At least we hear of a youth, who was no disciple, but a mere eye-witness of the whole procedure, whom the officers tried to seize; and that seems to have been no mere joke. We are distinctly told that he had only a linen cloth round his body, and when they thought that they had got hold of him, he left the cloth in their hands and fled naked (Mark xiv. 50–52). It is useless to ask how it could ever occur to any one of our evangelists to close the terrible tragedy which he has just been relating with this almost comic incident. It is of course by no means clear that this was a piquant addition of Mark's own, nor that there are various parts of the Bible from which he could extract this incident by an exercise of wit; the "neighbouring farm" from which the youth is supposed to come secretly does not exist, and Mark excludes the supposition entirely by saying that he had followed Jesus (naturally from the town). The most radical criticism has been forced to confess that this passage can only be of moment if that youth was no other than the evangelist himself, whose reminiscence would in that case be personal. If we ask whence he came, his statement can scarcely be understood if he did not come from the house where Jesus had supped with His disciples; and as his mother Mary afterwards kept

a reminiscence of the prayer in Gethsemane (John xviii. 11); and the shortest of all: Suffer ye thus far, as recorded by Luke, is rendered doubtful by the request of the disciples to be permitted to make an onslaught with their swords (Luke xxii. 49–51). It is all the more ingenious when Luke explains how the disciples escaped so easily, by the application of Jesus' miraculous power—even to the enemy whose ear He healed; but no historical tradition can be sought for in such literary elaborations, any more than in the exactitude with which it was afterwards set forth that it was the right ear (comp. Luke and John).

her house open to the disciples (Acts xii. 12), the suggestion is extremely feasible that it was in his father's abode that the supper took place. We do not know what moved him, when he heard the company breaking up, although he was already undressed, to bind a cloth round him and follow them at a distance. But even to the circle of Jesus' followers it must have been growing more or less clear that a catastrophe was approaching. Thus he became an eye-witness of it, although from a distance, and we know now whence he derived his somewhat scanty information on the subject. For the rest, he has desired to confess that he was no better than the runaway disciples; for although he remained somewhat longer than they did, it was only because he thought that he was safe. But when it came to his turn, he preferred to leave his covering rather than allow himself to be taken, and his fear even deprived him of shame.

CHAPTER VI.

BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

THE capture had been successful; and the next step to be taken was to assemble the highest court of justice as quickly as possible, so as to end the affair at a stroke. If the approaching double feast-day demanded haste, it was just as urgent to put the whole case into the hand of the Roman governor, before the people who had assembled for the feast got tidings of what had happened. It is very evident, however, that the court could not be summoned till the capture had succeeded, nor the large number of seventy-one members be brought together at short notice; some time had therefore necessarily to intervene between Jesus' arrest and the beginning of the session of court. During this interval, according to John, Jesus was taken into the palace of Annas, who wished to interview Him, probably with the object of curtailing the proceedings before the Sanhedrin, and facilitating their decision (John viii. 12 f.).[1]

Annas began with an inquiry as to the number and character of Jesus' disciples, and as to the doctrine which He taught, and which they consequently defended. Both of these questions were apparently founded on the supposition that Jesus was at the head of a secret society, whose tenets

[1] As this preliminary audience was actually attended with no result, it is easily understood why the oldest tradition proceeded at once to give a full narration of the sitting of the court (Mark xiv. 53-55); and only the most forced harmonistic interpretation has, in spite of the express declaration of John xviii. 24, or with a gross misinterpretation of its words, tried to combine the two. Luke alone (and he had probably a different source from Mark) has recorded that there was a considerable interval between the time when Jesus was brought in and the beginning of the session of the court (Luke xxii. 54-66); but it cannot be proved that he took Annas for the high priest into whose palace Jesus was meanwhile led (comp. Luke iii. 2). The criticism which is determined to accuse the Fourth Gospel of universal inaccuracy, has tried in vain to search out motives for the invention of this entirely fruitless preliminary

could not bear the light, and whose extent and nature would determine in what way His accusers were to proceed against Him. Jesus answered him by pointing to the entire publicity of His teaching and work, in view of which there could be no suspicion of a secret society of disciples to whom He privately propounded His projects (John xviii. 19–21). No more striking confirmation of the authenticity of this much assailed scene can be given than the fact that the synoptical writers also have substantially preserved this utterance of Jesus; they indeed gave it in a connection which is utterly impossible (comp. p. 328), but that is a certain proof that it cannot have been borrowed from our evangelist (Mark xiv. 48 f.). We cannot know in how far it was in this connection that it first received its polemical point; certainly it always contained an indirect censure of the procedure against Jesus, for He had been treated as a thief whom it was necessary to capture by night with swords and staves. But the high independence with which Jesus thus refused to be inveigled by the questions of His interrogator so roused one of the subordinates who was present, that he felt himself called upon to defend the honour of his superior by striking the prisoner in the face. Jesus here showed what meaning He attached to the precepts enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount. He by no means offered the insolent servant His other cheek (comp. Matt. v. 39), but repelled the uncalled-for ill-usage with dignified composure (John xviii. 22 f.). But the act itself caused a stigma to be attached to the high priest who would allow such a procedure in his presence, and who appears also to have shown little inclination to prolong an audience whose commencement appeared to compromise himself and his

examination, which, according to them, has been constructed from Mark xiv. 49; Acts xxiii. 2 (and why not Mark xiv. 65?). Although Baur and Strauss thought that the evangelist wished to enhance the guilt of the Jews by a double sentence criticism itself has acknowledged of late that Annas pronounced no judgment on Jesus at all, and that the sentence of Caiaphas is not related by John; it has, however, held fast to the invalid excuse, that Caiaphas had already been made use of by him (John xi. 49), and that the evangelist on that account adverted to the piquant novelty of confronting Jesus with the most famous of the Sadducees. In truth, however, the high authority which was still possessed by the former high priest, who was also father-in-law to the high priest of that year (John xviii. 13), must have been the reason why it was expected that honour paid to him should facilitate and hasten the procedure of the trial.

associates. In any case, the evangelist hurries over it in order to give a full description of a scene which was meanwhile being enacted in the inner court of the temple, and to which alone we are indebted for the sketch of this preliminary audience, because it was purposely referred to as the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning Peter (John xiii. 38).[1]

Peter and John were the only two of the disciples whose fear was at last overcome by love to Jesus and desire to know His fate. Probably enough, they first made sure that the supreme Council could have no possible motive nor pretext for imprisoning them; even Peter's sword-stroke had been so concealed by the night and the confusion, that it was not likely he would be called to account for it. Nevertheless, however, it was very questionable if strangers would be allowed to enter the high priest's palace. But as Jesus was first led to Annas, in whose house the son of Zebedee from the Lake of Gennesareth had connections, John succeeded in effecting an entrance for himself and also for Peter, by permission of the doorkeeper. Here it was that the forward and impetuous disciple had to experience the deep humiliation which Jesus had predicted. It is evident that neither John nor he can have retained a distinct recollection of the particular incidents which led him to deny repeatedly that he was a disciple of Jesus, thus involving himself ever more deeply in untruth and faithlessness. But notwithstanding

[1] The manner in which John xviii. 25 is added to the description already given in ver. 18, shows as clearly as possible that the denial of Peter was uttered whilst Annas was examining Jesus (xviii. 19–23), and not after Jesus was led away to Caiaphas (xviii. 24), nor even in the palace of the latter. We can easily understand how it is that the oldest tradition has incorrectly represented it as taking place there (Mark xiv. 54, 66–72), for its writer knew nothing about the preliminary examination by Annas. Any one who is impressed by the necessity of freeing it from this error, may of course accept the theory that Caiaphas lived in the same house with his father-in-law, although it is not at all likely that Jesus would have been fettered again in order to be led from one room to another (John xviii. 24). It is only in appearance, however, that Luke is possessed of more exact information concerning the place and time of the denial (xxii. 54–62), for it cannot be proved that he means Annas by the high priest; and the fact that he records the denial before the trial, is an evident result of his desire to fill up the interval between the time when Jesus was brought in and the sitting of the court (see previous note). For the details of the denial we can only refer to John and Mark, for the first and third evangelists only present us with literary elaborations of the latter, which try in different ways to bring the three acts of denial to a climax.

this, the principal incidents can be gathered with sufficient clearness from their narratives.[1] The damsel who kept the door probably granted permission to bring a friend to a Galilean acquaintance of the servants, whom she knew to be a disciple of the delinquent; but when she thought that she recognised in the friend one of the band of apostles, she naturally became somewhat suspicious (John xviii. 17). Mark has also recorded that the first question to Peter came from a maid, although he could only account for it by assuming that she recognised him by the bright firelight; and we can quite understand how the unreflective, impulsive Peter saw nothing wicked in evading an uncalled-for question which threatened to raise a dispute about his happily accomplished entrance into the court; and therefore he answered: I neither know, nor understand what thou sayest (Mark xiv. 66–68).

And so the scene is developed, which the oldest tradition regarded as being most characteristic, and consequently described with peculiar vividness: It was a cold April night. The servants and the officers, who had brought Jesus in, made a fire of coals, and gathered round it to warm themselves. Peter thought that his wisest plan would be to mix amongst them as unconcernedly as possible, just as if he too wished to enjoy the heat of the fire (Mark xiv. 54, 67; John xviii. 18).[2] But it is the very servants gathered there who now suspect him of being a disciple of Jesus; we learn from Mark that

[1] The oldest tradition, as Mark gives it, is dominated by the desire of proving three separate denials, proceeding in this upon the prophecy by Jesus, which was soon taken in a literal sense; and yet it is evident that this account has no longer sufficient details at command by which to give a full and reliable report of the development of events, and so to show the great depth of the disciple's fall. In any case, we see from John that there were at least three characteristically different occasions for it; and yet we must acknowledge that his account of the threefold denial is so colourless, that we are amply justified in referring a great part of the characteristic utterances of Peter, as recorded by Mark, to the communications of Peter himself. The way in which John introduces the occurrence is thus protected from the suspicion of that criticism which has discovered even here a rivalry between the beloved disciple and the chief of the apostles, because it alone explains to us psychologically how it was that Peter took the first downward step, which led him to commit the most grievous sin of his life.

[2] Peter therefore did not escape into the outer court after the damsel had spoken, to be recognised again by the same person, as Mark relates (xiv. 68 f.) in order to complete the threefold denial, since he only knew the particulars of the one denial, which John has also narrated.

they express their surmises openly, and the first evangelist adds the correct explanation that they know him to be a Galilean from his dialect (John xviii. 25; Mark xiv. 70; Matt. xxvi. 73). He is therefore not only in danger of becoming a target for the taunts of these rough fellows, but if he acknowledges himself to be a liar, the doorkeeper will certainly turn him out. As Hase has finely observed, it was easier not to commit than not to repeat the error of which he had been guilty. His half untruth had involved him in a gross falsehood. And now, when one of the kinsmen of Malchus thought that he recognised him as the man who had drawn the sword in the garden (John xviii. 26), then for the first time he was overcome by fear that he would be called to account for his rash act; and Mark is undoubtedly correct when he tells how Peter at last tried to strengthen his denial of all acquaintance with Jesus by solemn asseverations which culminated in cursing and swearing (xiv. 71).

It was a deep fall; but it is a false assumption to say that it was caused by lack of faith. We cannot believe that his faith in Jesus wavered for a single moment. When he vowed so confidently that he would go with his master to death, he was thinking no doubt of a solemn testimony to Him for whom he was ready to sacrifice everything. But a great deed of heroism is often easier than loyalty in small things. Here there was no chance of intervention on behalf of Jesus, nor of serving His cause in any way. The natural rashness of his temperament impelled him to follow an overpowering impulse, without weighing the consequences of what he did, till he was more and more inextricably entangled in the net of sin. It was the cock-crow which announced the dawn that first reminded him that the evasion of a chance question was a denial, and that he, in yielding to the pressure of human fear, had committed the very sin which Jesus had predicted, and from which he believed himself to be so infinitely removed by his love to Jesus. This was the reason for the genuine repentance which the oldest tradition described so touchingly, while Mark relates that when Peter thought of this he wept (Mark xiv. 72).[1]

[1] It is entirely owing to a false interpretation of Mark xiv. 30 that Mark's text, as we have it, now represents the cock as crowing twice (comp. xiv. 69–72).

Day had therefore dawned before a message came that the Sanhedrin had assembled, and the painful and fruitless examination by Annas was brought to an end. In opposition to the clear statement of Mark (xiv. 53, 55), and also to that of his favourite first evangelist (Matt. xxvi. 57, 59), Keim explains that only a third of the most reliable and illustrious judges were hastily summoned to the high priest's palace. There is no doubt that the court was now met in full assembly, which by no means excludes the possibility of Jesus' individual friends in the Council withdrawing, as they had done before, in order not to stain themselves further with the guilt of their colleagues (comp. Luke xxiii. 51). Jesus was led before the supreme Council. Some expounders seem to find great pleasure in representing the whole procedure against Jesus as a tumult, destitute of all forms of law, and thoroughly illegal. At one time it is said that the time and place were not properly chosen, then that a formal accuser was wanting, and again that the witnesses for the defence were not summoned along with the witnesses for the prosecution, that the reliability of the latter was not tested, and finally, that the sentence was not deferred till the following day. In all this, it is only true that the death of Jesus had long been predetermined, and that this Council had no intention of deciding a question of law, but was only met to pronounce a death-sentence whose confirmation and execution could be entrusted to the governor. In this sense it was merely a mock trial; but it would have been in opposition to the whole aim of such a procedure if the legal forms had been neglected.

In the authenticated text it is only said that the cock crowed for the second time, that is, at break of day, about three o'clock in the morning, for the first cock-crow—at midnight—was long past. That also can only rest on the later view, which could only conceive of Jesus' words as being so literally fulfilled that the cock-crow after the last denial reminded Peter of the words of Jesus, although John already comprehended it thus (xviii. 27). The crowing of the cock was certain to have this effect, even without such a coincidence, of which Jesus assuredly never thought. The first and third evangelists have further described—as was doubtless customary in the subsequent narrations of the story—how Peter went out and wept bitterly (Matt. xxvi. 75; Luke xxii. 62); Luke, however, tells that the tears were caused by a look which Jesus gave to Peter (ver. 61); and this might be easily reconciled with John's version, according to which Jesus was led across the court at the conclusion of the scene (John xviii. 24); but all presumptions to that effect are wanting even in Luke.

Concerning these forms we have very insufficient information, and the inferences from the account given in the Talmud of the time of Jesus are thoroughly unreliable. Besides, the case was entirely unique, and was not met by the existing laws, even when appeal was made to former analogous cases. There was, too, the important political background of the whole transaction; and that demanded the greatest possible haste in the proceedings, for the evils of a popular insurrection could be most certainly avoided by putting Jesus out of the way. Moreover, it is involved in the nature of the case that our evangelic tradition would only preserve certain principal points in the process, but this does not warrant the conclusion that all the forms of which it does not speak were entirely neglected.[1]

It had long been evident that the only tenable ground for pronouncing a sentence of death was the accusation of blasphemy (comp. p. 202). And therefore it was necessary to begin by proving this charge from the testimony of those who had been witnesses of Jesus' words and deeds. It is evident that nothing was said of the popular demonstration on His entry into Jerusalem, of the cleansing of the temple two years before, of His views on the contested point of Sabbath observance, nor even of His miracles of healing; neither was any allusion made to His invectives against the Pharisees, nor to His opinions on the subject of paying tribute. But that

[1] While John records that Jesus was led away to Caiaphas (xviii. 24), he does not thereby exclude the chief trial before the Sanhedrin, indeed he directly refers to it (comp. also John xix. 7). If he gives no detailed account of the trial, it may be because the thought was proportionately strong in him that the result was firmly established from the beginning; but a glance at his whole narrative shows that his first intention was to verify the prediction of Jesus in regard to Peter (xviii. 12–27), and then to declare the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the manner of His death, which he had found in some previous sayings of Jesus (xii. 32 f.; comp. xviii. 32). It is to Mark we owe the only authentic account which we have of the transactions before the supreme Council (xiv. 55–64), for the first evangelist has only given us a literary elaboration of it (Matt. xxvi. 59–66); and Luke's version (xxii. 66–71), which is probably derived from another and wholly unknown source, without affording anything intrinsically new, is far behind Mark in perspicuity and reliability. It is only the strangely untenable criticism of a Keim, which could at once pronounce an almost incomprehensible saying of Jesus to be genuine (Luke xxii. 67 f.), although he himself has declared that the whole narrative is not to be depended on.

the inquiry was not conducted with an utter disregard of the forms of law is apparent from the fact that the testimony of some witnesses was rejected because two or three of them did not agree (Mark xiv. 55 f.; comp. Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15). This was the case, as Mark distinctly testifies, when they began to speak of the prediction of the destruction of the temple, which they distorted till it seemed as if Jesus wished to pull down the holy habitation of God, and put a better one in its place (comp. vol. ii. p. 12); and this of course was a crime of blasphemous character (Mark xiv. 5, 7 ff.). When this inquiry was finished the high priest arose, stepped into the midst of the assembly, which was ranged in a semicircle, and, standing immediately in front of the accused, ordered Him to answer the accusations which had been laid to His charge, and in particular to account for the words which had just been ascribed to Him. Although the Council did not wish to condemn Him upon the diverging testimony of the witnesses, they thought that His present utterances would most likely compromise Him in some way or other, and give them a pretext for further procedure. But Jesus maintained an unbroken silence, and refused to give any information. It may sound proud and heroic to say that He despised His enemies, and did not wish to cast His pearls before swine; but that is not in keeping with the previous demeanour of Jesus, and besides, He was now in the presence of real, even though erring, authorities, and this assertion does not explain why He broke His silence immediately thereafter. He was silent because He could only reply to these false accusations by maintaining their untruth,—an assumption He was not in a position to prove,—and by explaining the meaning of distorted words to judges who were neither able nor willing to understand them (Mark xiv. 60 f.).[1]

Thus no alternative was left to the high priest, and he was compelled to put the direct question, which would have been put at the beginning had there been any hope that Jesus would give a direct answer. But we know that it was not His way to proclaim Himself the Messiah; and on that

[1] A real reminiscence of this motive of His silence is to be found in the words of Jesus as recorded by Luke (xxii. 67 f.), which lose all their significance in their present context.

account His opponents feared that He would make some kind of evasive reply which would compromise His judges more than Himself. It was, however, the last means of gaining their end; and this time Jesus did not refuse to answer. It was needful for Him to testify solemnly once more before the heads of the people as to the nature of His divine vocation. He therefore gave a distinct reply in the affirmative when the high priest asked if He was the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed, by which appellation he signified that no one without a special calling should dare to name Himself thus, but also that no one who knew Himself to be the Beloved One, specially chosen by God, should dare to deny His election.[1] On a former occasion, when Jesus could have won a king's crown thereby, He had rejected the proffered title of Messiah; now, when He knew that such an acknowledgment was equivalent to signing His own death-warrant, He felt constrained to declare that He was the Messiah, prophesied by the Old Testament and long expected by the people. But in order to deprive them of every pretext for mocking this confession, which presented such a glaring contrast to the helplessness of His position, He added, that they themselves would yet see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Almighty, *i.e.* partaking of His honour and glory (comp. Psalm cx. 1), and, according to the old prophecy in Daniel, coming in the clouds of heaven (Dan. vii. 13). The existing generation was to see His return, and then those who were now His judges would stand before His judgment-seat. His great confession was also His last appeal to the conscience of His enemies; although they only made use of it to pave the way for attaining the end they had in view. His declaration that He was the Messiah could only be stigmatized as indirect blasphemy from their standpoint, but His claim to participation in the divine honour and power involved Him inextricably. It is wrong, however, to speak lightly of hypocritical

[1] If Jesus, as criticism assumes, really refrained from acknowledging His Messiahship till shortly before the end, the high priest could hardly intend this question to hasten the final decision. But it was notorious that the Messianic claim was the mainspring of His public ministry; and it is quite impossible that Jesus could give such a direct affirmation to the question if, as is still affirmed, He only assumed the title of Messiah in a sense peculiar to Himself.

indignation. Great though the sin was which made the rulers shut their hearts against Jesus, after it was once committed, it was a necessary consequence of their standpoint which made the high priest rend his fine linen garments in indignation (comp. 2 Kings xviii. 37), and led him to demand from the Council, who had heard Jesus, and required no further testimony, an accusation of blasphemy. But it was only on the authority of the law of God Himself (Lev. xxiv. 16) that sentence of death was pronounced on the blasphemer (Mark xiv. 61–64; comp. John xix. 7).

It was not till the sentence was passed, and the condemned man stood before them virtually as dead, that Jesus was assailed by all the rage of a religious fanaticism which was now rendered doubly virulent by the consciousness of the weakness which had so long made them tremble in presence of this powerless man. It is vain to refuse to acknowledge the real state of the case, which is so unmistakeably described by our oldest source; and terribly degrading as this scene is to that proud hierarchy, we cannot forget that Oriental coarseness and the unscrupulosity of Jewish arrogance are not in accordance with our ideas of propriety. They certainly meant to exhibit their zeal for the offended honour of Jehovah when they spat on the blasphemer, and it was their way of answering Jesus' concluding warning, which they wished to throw ridicule upon, as a powerless threat, when they threw a cloth over His face, struck Him with their fists, and demanded jeeringly that He should prophetically denounce punishment on the perpetrator who was thus hidden from Him (Mark xiv. 65).[1] As a retaliation to this rough usage, Jesus answered not a word more than He did to the high

[1] It is only in the later tradition that this is falsely apprehended as a test of His higher knowledge. The first evangelist, who had not undetstood about the covering of the face, records that He was to give the name of the unknown perpetrator; and the third, who had retained the idea of the veiling, makes the statement refer to the discovery of the culprit (Matt. xxvi. 68; Luke xxii. 64). Keim, in this case also, naturally prefers that first secondary account,—an opinion which is not supported by the fact that the evangelist leaves out the apparently uncomprehended conclusion of Mark, which represents the servants as striking Jesus with the palms of their hands (Mark xiv. 65), a hazy reminiscence probably of the scene before Annas (John xviii. 22). The way in which Luke ascribes the abuse of Jesus to the servants, and dates it at an impossible time, before sentence was pronounced (Luke xxii. 63–65), may be accounted for

priest's servant. He silently endured what is worse than pain and torture to a man of honour. It was the heaviest load which sinners could lay upon the sinless One, to mock the powerlessness which He had subjected Himself to in order to fulfil the divine purpose of love.

The latest representation of the life of Jesus gives us a minute account of a special meeting of the Sanhedrin held next morning, in the official place of justice, where the sentence was first formally pronounced before the entire tribunal. Of all this our sources know nothing.[1] Indeed, in the authenticated text, the oldest version says nothing about a final consultation, but only premises that Jesus was not led away to Pilate till a pretext was invented, on which they could denounce Him as a criminal worthy of death (Mark xv. 1). All the evangelists, however, are agreed that it was still early morning when the solemn procession of priests set out to convey the prisoner to the governor; and it is useless to try and prove that John contradicts the older version (comp. John xviii. 28). In those countries, where a considerable suspension of work is necessary at mid-day, business begins earlier than with us; and the rulers had every inducement to hasten the matter. The transactions before the supreme Council were assuredly not of short duration, and the very indefinite accounts given in the Gospels do not prevent us from assuming that it was about six or seven o'clock when Jesus was led to the governor. It has been a matter of surprise, that, according to the synoptic writers, Jesus was now bound for the first time (Mark xv. 1; comp. John xviii. 12, 24). But it requires no explanation that the fetters were

as being his way of filling up the pause between the bringing in of the prisoner and the sitting of the court (comp. p. 335, note).

[1] Even the secondary account of the first Gospel only informs us of a final consultation on the manner in which the death-sentence, which had just been passed, was to be carried out; and the connection between that and the transference of Jesus to the governor shows distinctly that they were anxious to find a pretext which would induce the governor to confirm the sentence, which he would certainly never have done if Jesus had been denounced merely for a religious offence like blasphemy (Matt. xxvii. 1 f.). The apparent separation of this final consultation from the sentence only arises from the insertion of the story of Peter's denial, which, as we have already seen, Mark also described as taking place in the palace of Caiaphas while the trial was actually going on.

taken off during the trial, for their only use was to prevent any attempt at flight during the transit from one place to another.

Jesus could only be led to the governor for the ratification of a death-sentence; and when this became apparent to Judas, he all at once became fearfully conscious of what he had done. The accomplished act always seems very different in impression to what it is when only in the course of being planned; and Judas had neither expected nor intended that Jesus should be condemned to death. There is no doubt that the conscience of this lost man was roused at last, although repentance over a sin, for which he hoped for no forgiveness, drove him to despair. According to the oldest tradition, he ended his career suicidally, by hanging himself (Matt. xxvii. 3, 5); and it was afterwards related, that he fell and burst asunder in the midst, and that all his bowels gushed out (Acts i. 18).[1] Subsequent legends depicted the end of the betrayer with still more terrible details, but after all it is most probable that God, in His usual way, let sin itself be the punishment of sin, when the sinner took his own life in despair; for even the example of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xvii. 23) could only suggest to the recorders the form of suicide.

It is remarkable that a certain spot near Jerusalem is always associated with the end of the betrayer. Before the gates of the town there was a burial-place for strangers, more especially destined for the burial of pilgrims, who came up to the feasts, and died at Jerusalem, and this was called the field of blood. We are told that this field was bought with the price of blood, which Judas received for his treachery. In his hopeless repentance he had wished to give

[1] If Peter really spoke in the way that is narrated in Acts, this would of course be the most reliable account; and there could even be no objection to the attempt to harmonize it with Matt. xxvii.,—although the words do not admit of it without some compulsion,—by saying that Peter was not relating the end of Judas, but that he was describing the horrible mutilation of his body, which, though caused by an accident, was ascribed to the judgment of God. It can be shown, however, with a greater appearance of probability, that that reference was only inserted into Peter's speech from an older source, and may therefore be referred in its entirety to that which has been transmitted by Luke.

it back to the chief priests and elders, and when they refused it with scorn, the despairing man hastened to the sanctuary, and threw it down there, as if he would thereby expiate the curse which clung to the money. The hypocritical piety of the chief priests, however, made them hesitate to put it into the treasury, and they therefore used it to buy that burial-place (Matt. xxvii. 3–8). It might be possible to reconcile this with the narrative contained in the Acts of the Apostles (i. 18), according to which Judas purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, if this were merely a rhetorical way of saying that he was a Galilean pilgrim to the feast, who was the first to be buried there, and who thus won nothing by his treachery after all, beyond the piece of ground where his body rested. Against that theory, the name of the Field of Blood seems, there at least, to signify far more decidedly that his blood stained this field (i. 18 f.). In any case, Matthew's narrative appears to have more historical support, and his application of prophecy (Zech. xi. 13) does not suggest the purchase of a place of burial.

CHAPTER VII.

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE.

THE Roman in whose hands the decision of Jesus' fate was to be, was one of those provincial officers who carried on their government with the utmost callousness, and without any appreciation of the peculiarities of the people over which they ruled, and who believed that all opposition might be successfully crushed by iron severity. But Pontius Pilate had to deal with a people whose religious peculiarities were as uncongenial to him as they were incomprehensible. At the very beginning of his entrance upon office he found that he had opposed to him forces before which even a Roman might be compelled to give way. The innovation he introduced in regard to the standards (comp. p. 180), he was compelled to recede from. More than once, indeed, he carried his plans into execution, but only at the cost of much bloodshed; in after days, a similar act of brutal violence led to his being deprived of his post, and perhaps he felt even now that it was more judicious for him to agree with the inhabitants of the province.

The procurators of Judea had their residence at Cæsarea on the Mediterranean, but they generally made a point of coming up to Jerusalem at the principal feasts, in order to be at hand if any of those breaches of the peace should take place which were so likely to happen among a populace which, on those occasions, was in a specially excitable mood.[1] Pilate must have known something of this matter concerning Jesus, for he had already put a military force at

[1] There is no confirmation of the assumption that the governor took up his residence in the extensive marble palace of King Herod, and it is indeed far from probable, for this magnificent building was doubtless reserved for the princely sons of Herod when they came up to the feasts. We cannot quite understand how it is that mention is always made of the Prætorium, and not,

the disposition of the Council, in order to ensure the arrest of a man who was said to be dangerous; and this fact shows that the general character of the grounds for suspecting Him must have been stated. But now, when the confirmation of a sentence of death was in question, we can understand why it was that the governor demanded a formal indictment against the accused. This was exactly what the priests wished to avoid, for they knew right well that they were in no position to prove anything against Jesus which could lead the procurator to look upon Him as a criminal deserving of death. They intended Pilate to perceive from the fact of their delivering this man up that He was deserving of a more severe punishment than they durst decree, and they hoped that he would simply confirm their sentence. This unexampled demand, which counted upon the pliability of a man already compromised in many ways, Herod, of course, refused; he told them that if they wished any sentence to be carried out, they should content themselves with a punishment within their competency to decree. But since the punishment which the priests had in view was that of death, they were now compelled to bring forward the political side of the Messianic kingdom, and to accuse Jesus of high treason, as a pretender to the throne (John xviii. 29–31).[1] This was undoubtedly done against their conscience and their better knowledge, for they must have known that Jesus had always refused to interfere in political affairs, and had thereby lost a considerable amount of popular favour. But

as in Acts xxiii. 35, of a Prætorium of Herod's. The references in the Gospels (comp. Mark xv. 16) would rather seem to point to the tower of Antonia, where the Roman cohort was garrisoned, and where doubtless the commander-in-chief had his residence. Probably in front of it was the marble-paved square, called the Lithostroton (Aram. Gabbatha), where Pilate pronounced sentence in regard to Jesus (John xix. 13); it must have been in the same place, too, that, whether in order to propitiate the leaders of the people, or because it was according to the usual conduct of a Roman law process, he negotiated with the priests, who shrank from entering a Gentile house for fear of pollution (John xviii. 28).

[1] Neither John nor Mark reports the formal accusation; but we can understand what it must have been from the question asked of Jesus by Pilate, which is given in both Gospels (Mark xv. 2; John xviii. 33). What Luke adds as to seduction of the people, and the refusal to pay taxes, is of little probability (xxiii. 2, 5), and in order to make it comprehensible, a critic such as Keim has had to complete it from the Gospel of the Marcionites.

they had now reached the point when they must either spare no effort for the attainment of their object, or else must put at stake all the results of their previous endeavours.

This is another point where the older tradition presents an insoluble enigma. According to it, Pilate interrogated Jesus as to the accusation brought against Him, and Jesus, who usually did everything to prevent the mingling of faith in the Messiah with political tendencies, not only answered the question whether He was the Messiah in the affirmative, but in respect of all the other charges brought against Him by the hierarchy refused—one hardly sees why—to give any information. But instead of simply condemning Him on this avowal, as was his duty, or of taking this obdurate silence as an admission, as any other judge would have done, we are only told that the Roman expressed great amazement, and we see from his whole subsequent conduct that he cherished no political mistrust of Jesus (Mark xv. 2–5; comp. vv. 9, 14). The modern criticism which rejects the Gospel of John, assumes at once that this unrelenting governor made up his mind, from the mere fact of Jesus' silence, that this pretender was not specially dangerous; but any truly historical criticism can see at the first glance that the popular tradition gave no particulars of the examination of Jesus by Pilate, and simply assumed that Jesus would conduct Himself there as He had done before the Council, *i.e.* that He would answer the question as to His Messiahship in the affirmative and be silent in regard to the other accusations. We certainly cannot show how it was that John attained to a more particular knowledge of what occurred,[1] and it is evident here as everywhere else that many of the incidents are retailed in a truly Johannine way; but the essential accuracy of his account is guaranteed by the fact that Pilate's whole conduct is only explicable from it. According to the narrative in John's Gospel, Jesus by no means acknowledged at once that He laid claim to any

[1] If this be made a subject of reproach, it must be remembered that the same might be said concerning the synoptic account of the transaction before the Council, in regard to whose essential authenticity no one really doubts. There, however, the narrative has to do with the transactions of a closed court of justice; here, it is an examination which we have no reason to believe took place in secret, for that would have been quite contrary to Roman practice. Keim finds great amusement in Pilate's peripatetic method of conducting affairs;

throne; He replied by asking whether Pilate himself entertained any mistrust of Him, in which case He could answer his question in the negative, or whether He was presenting accusations of the Jews, for if so He could not entirely deny it, since as the Messiah He had always claimed to be in a theocratic sense King of Israel. Pilate indirectly answered the first question in the negative, by pointing out that Jesus had been delivered into his hands by the high priests in the name of the people; in a superior and depreciatory way he refused to make any inquiry into these Jewish disputes, and ordered Jesus to tell without any circumlocution what He had done to rouse the suspicion which had led to His being brought before this tribunal. Jesus then declared that His kingdom was not of human origin, and appealed to the fact that His followers had attempted no resistance to His being taken prisoner. Surprised that He should really speak of His kingdom, Pilate again demanded an exact declaration; to this Jesus answered that as His hereditary right He only claimed to bear witness of the truth, and all those who sought the truth He looked upon as His subjects. It may be that here we catch the sound of Johannine teaching, but still it is evident that Jesus refused to strive for a kingdom which involved a sovereignty over lands and people, and we see that the conversation turned in some way upon rule in the realm of truth, from the half mocking, half pitiful answer of the sceptical man of the world, to whom truth had long been an empty word: What is truth? (John xviii. 33–38).

After this it was evident to the governor that he had before him an amiable enthusiast who was guilty of no crime that fell to be judged at his judgment-seat (John xviii. 38). He was too well acquainted with the hierarchy, however, not to draw the simple conclusion that only jealousy of the popularity enjoyed by a man who had become their rival

but he has not taken into account that it was a very natural proceeding to begin by safely securing a criminal who was alleged to be dangerous, so that Pilate's first examination of Him was within the palace. But although the priests may have refrained from entering the Prætorium because they feared defilement, yet others who did not share in those scruples would have no difficulty in gaining admittance. We cannot of course know whether John himself was present, or whether it was only the witness from whom he got his information.

in some kind of religious altercations had led them to get rid of Him by putting Him in the power of the Roman authority (Mark xv. 10).[1] In spite of all that was afterwards said about Pilate's cruelty (comp. Philo, *legat. ad Cajum.* § 38), it could not possibly be with a light heart that he sacrificed one whom he considered entirely innocent to the irrational hatred of those leaders of the people whom he equally despised and hated. On the other hand, he was obliged to listen to the advice of these same leaders if his rule was not to be distinguished by continuous conflicts; and particularly when he came into collision with the religious fanaticism of the populace, they were for him the most indispensable of middle-men. We can quite understand that in this dilemma he found it difficult to make up his mind, and eagerly seized on any excuse for getting quit of the whole affair. A convenient way seemed to present itself when, on making more particular inquiries as to the circumstances of the accused, he learnt that Jesus was a Galilean, and had laboured chiefly in that province. Hearing this, he thought himself entitled to refer the matter to the tetrarch Herod Antipas, who was then in Jerusalem in attendance on the feast (Luke xxiii. 6 f.). It does not escape even our simple evangelic narrator that by so doing Pilate thought he had made an admirable more; for we can easily understand

[1] Since this is also the case in the synoptic tradition, the attempts have had no result whatever which have been made to superinduce upon the Johannine narrative the intention of removing the guilt from Pilate to the Jews. Even in Mark's account there is no doubt that Pilate hesitated to pronounce condemnation, sought ways of escape (xv. 9), and at last only yielded in compliance with the wishes of the people (xv. 15). The real reason for John's more exact account of Pilate's attempt at rescue was because it seemed to him highly significant that in spite of all those endeavours it still came to pass that the prophecy was fulfilled in which Jesus had predicted His death by crucifixion (xii. 32 f.) —a death which Pilate alone could ordain (xviii. 32). But even the first Gospel, which is regarded by modern criticism as relatively the oldest and most credible, shows that endeavours were made to explain Pilate's disinclination to carry out the sentence. It still remembers how it was said that Pilate's wife was made anxious by a bad dream, and sent to her husband to warn him against having anything to do with this just man (Matt. xxvii. 19). But the reminiscence which Luke also preserves of the interview with Herod is certainly not intended to bring forward a Jewish associate, or the fact that another Jew pronounced Jesus innocent, especially as a scene so resultless and unimportant only shows that a faded recollection is here preserved, not that it is a fiction with a particular tendency.

that there was not a little quarrelling and rivalry between him and the vassal princes who governed the other divisions of the land. This incident gave him an opportunity of appearing to acknowledge Herod's rights by putting into his hands the case of this Galilean, which was only a cause of perplexity to himself. But however flattering that may have been to the tetrarch, we know enough of his position in regard to this mysterious subject of his to surmise that his satisfaction was very circumscribed, and that he was more than satisfied to appear before the representative of his imperial patron as a humble servant who would not allow himself to be surpassed in politeness, and who renounced the exercise of the right so willingly accorded him. Thus it was possible for both actors to shake hands over the victim of this terrible tragedy (Luke xxiii. 12); but the procurator would really not have been a step nearer a final settlement if assistance had not come from another quarter.[1]

It certainly seemed as if that were now at hand. Intelligence of what had happened had spread through the city, and while having a crushing effect upon the true followers of Jesus, the fact was a triumph for all His enemies; and the great mass of the people, who felt that they had wavered sufficiently long between two opinions, regarded it as a divine judgment upon Him. Betrayed by one of His nearest followers, delivered into the hands of His enemies, condemned

[1] We only possess surmises as to the details of this occurrence. Luke no doubt found it stated in his source that Jesus was sent to the tetrarch and sent back by him, but everything else is probably more or less a combination by Luke himself or by his authority. Judging from Luke xiii. 31 and Mark vi. 16, it is hardly probable that Herod found pleasure in seeing Jesus (xxiii. 8; comp. ix. 9), because he hoped to see Him perform a miracle. It is perfectly incredible that he really confronted Him with the hierarchy, examined Him formally, and in spite of Jesus' constant silence satisfied himself of the prisoner's entire innocence (xxiii. 9 f., 15); nor can we believe that instead of setting Him free at once, which was in his power to do, he took part in the sport his guardsmen were making with the pretended King of the Jews, and even sent Him back to the governor in this attire—an act which was rather an insult than a compliment (xxiii. 11). It is evident that incidents which really occurred in the history of the Passion, but under very different circumstances, are here combined in order to make a picture of the transactions before Herod; but there is not a little incongruity in some of the details, and tradition knows nothing of any such transaction, because it really did not come so far.

to death by the leaders of the people—this was the end of all the hopes that had once been placed on Him. Popular enthusiasm for Him had already been replaced by a bitter undeception when He distinctly refused to avail Himself of the general feeling; and the effect of this event was to rouse an intense exasperation against one who had so shamefully disappointed their fairest expectations. There was still, however, one hope left for the followers of Jesus. According to an ancient custom, of which, indeed, we have very hazy indications, it was the use and wont at the yearly Passover—the great national festival of liberty—to allow the people to select a prisoner to be handed over to them (Mark xv. 6; John xix. 39). Surely all that was needed was to suggest to the multitude that it should insist upon the observance of its ancient right; and there could scarcely be a doubt that now, when it concerned the execution of a man condemned by the Sanhedrin, the people would ask for Him, and so Jesus would be liberated. It is incomprehensible how any one can doubt that the impetus to this mob-petition proceeded from Jesus' followers, for it could only be through the strangest accident that, at this point, an intervention occurred which seemed to give a totally new direction to a fate which apparently was already sealed.

The people are thronging in dense crowds round the governor's residence. Loud demands are being made for the customary Easter amnesty, and this offers the procurator a most favourable way of escape. He can act in accordance with the wishes of the hierarchy, and recognise its sentence, while at the same time releasing the condemned at the popular desire. But at the same time he does not wish it to seem as if he were acting voluntarily; he desires to appear in the eyes of the hierarchy as doing so under compulsion. He therefore proposes the pardon of Jesus by himself giving Him the title of king, in order to show that he does not regard it as treasonable arrogance, but only as a popular designation of reverence. The people themselves should then present their petition, and he calculated with certainty that they would not desert their favourite, and this, not in spite of, but because of the manifest jealousy with which the hierarchy regarded the popular favour for Jesus (Mark xv. 8–10). He

gave them time for consideration, and summoned them to appear at a certain hour before his judgment-seat. But Pilate had gone far astray in his calculations. In the degree in which the great mass of the people turned from Jesus they had thrown themselves blindly into the arms of their former leaders. The habitual submissiveness to their priestly guides made it easier for these to talk the populace over to their way of thinking. They began by passing the word to petition for the release of a certain Barabbas, who, along with his associates, now lay in fetters, on account of sedition (Mark xv. 7). We know nothing of this disturbance in particular, but revolts of like character were of not infrequent occurrence. It would only be possible to suppose that the people had had any peculiar share in this undertaking if regard be had to the account in the first Gospel (Matt. xxvii. 16), which itself is deduced from Mark's; the Gospels, as a whole, seem to indicate that this was a dangerous man, whose rebellion had been signalized by robbery and murder, and who was himself a common mutineer, in whom no one could have any great interest (John xviii. 40; comp. Mark xv. 7). The hierarchy, however, regarded him as good enough to play against Jesus; and the effect these involved intrigues had had in inciting the people was evident when the idea was suggested to them to demand the crucifixion of Jesus. Efforts must have been made to excite the popular feeling gradually against Him, for of themselves the people would never have presented such a request. On the other hand, it was of the greatest importance for the hierarchy that a manner of execution distinctly Roman, and usually employed in the case of rebels, should be made use of in this case; it would enable the priests to throw the whole odium of this murder upon the Romans who had condemned Him on account of sedition, and Jesus would be for ever stigmatized in the eyes of the people by the shameful death He met with.[1]

[1] It is plainly evident from this that the oldest version given by Mark is the only clear one, and that it was the redaction of this presented in the first Gospel, which made it appear as if Pilate began by giving the people their choice between Jesus and Barabbas (Matt. xxvii. 17). This led to the extraordinary idea to give this Barabbas (son of the father or the Rabbi; comp. Matt. xxiii. 9), in whose name was seen a remarkable reminder of the Son of the

When the crowd again appeared before Pilate's judgment-seat, they demanded with one voice the liberation of Barabbas; and on the governor asking what in that case he should do with Jesus, they vehemently called for His crucifixion. Great was Pilate's disappointment, and earnestly did he endeavour to show the people that this Jesus had done nothing amiss. Nothing is said of Pilate having offered to pardon Jesus as well, nor do we hear that the half-mocking characterization of Jesus as the King of the Jews prejudiced the people against Him. It seems rather to have been the case that the constantly increasing crowd got more and more inflamed by the idea that the will of their old leaders must be carried out, and any opposition would only have the effect of causing them to demand more fanatically than ever: Crucify him, crucify him (Mark xv. 11–14). And so it came about as Jesus had long foreseen. His death was not to be caused by the heartless indifference of a Roman, nor by the envenomed fury of the priests; the people whom He loved, and for whom He had lived, were to pronounce the sentence of condemnation. In vain had He striven to save them, in vain had He pressed salvation upon them. Because they would not have it as He presented it to them, they had become His enemies and would necessarily be His murderers. Not on Golgotha, where only the consequences of this action were carried out, but here on Gabbatha had the sin of this people become their judgment, and yet, in accordance with God's marvellous counsel, Golgotha was to present the means for their deliver-

heavenly Father, the personal name of Jesus; and this theory has been held to in spite of all the textual testimony against it. Only the account in the first Gospel could suggest to Weizsäcker the remarkable idea that Pilate proposed the liberation of Jesus in order not to be compelled to free this Barabbas, who seemed to him to be a still more dangerous character. Mark's short account, on the contrary, coincides in all essential particulars with John xviii. 39 f., only that in the latter case the people's share in the matter is quite passed over, for the evangelist only intended to refer to the negotiations between Pilate and the priests, who of course demanded the liberation of Barabbas—in order to show how the insistence of these exasperated enemies must ultimately be victorious over all Pilate's struggles, so that Jesus' prediction regarding His death by crucifixion should be fulfilled (John xviii. 32). Luke xxiii. 18–22 says nothing of the initiative taken by the people, which has been apparent ever since xxiii. 4, 13, or of the instigation by the priests; and even the appeal to the Easter amnesty (ver. 17 is not genuine) is taken from a less reliable source than Mark.

ance. Pilate had long learnt by experience that it was most unadvisable to irritate this fanatical populace. Something in him seemed to protest against giving Jesus up to the hierarchy, for that was acting against his own better conscience, but the people had decided that its will should be carried out (Mark xv. 15). However, it was one thing to command crucifixion and another to carry out the order; many things might happen before it came so far as that. And first of all, according to the Roman practice in regard to criminal cases, the execution had to be preceded by scourging. Perhaps even now the governor quieted the last whisperings of conscience with the hope that the people would rest contented with that.[1]

We shall not describe the horror of this merciless procedure by which an inhuman justice began by abusing its victim, and which was here carried out at the governor's tribunal before the eyes of all. Even the evangelists pass this dread scene by with a single word: Scourging (John ix. 1; comp. Mark xv. 15; Matt. xxvii. 26), from which we must suppose that as Jesus survived it, the governor's pity prevented the ill-usage and cruelty from being carried so far as it sometimes was. We will rather follow the palace watch which conducted Jesus into the inner court, in the buildings surrounding which the garrison cohort was quartered. While preparations were being made for the crucifixion, Jesus was given in charge of the Roman soldiers; they at once proceeded to make the alleged King of the Jews the target for their rude sport, indeed the whole cohort was called together from the barracks to amuse themselves at His expense. After the scourging was over, instead of clothing Him with His own garments, they put an old purple robe about His shoulders, and taking some twigs from a thorn bush growing in the

[1] It is quite inconceivable, and entirely opposed to the clear account given in the oldest tradition, that Pilate distinctly and repeatedly asked the people to be satisfied with the scourging (Luke xxiii. 16, 22). Passing over the question of guilt, Pilate might have met the wishes of this raging multitude, but he could not avow with shameless publicity that he was ready to scourge an innocent man though not to crucify Him. Moreover, flogging was really the preliminary for crucifixion. But Luke's account is explained by the fact that his source transferred to Herod's tribunal the flogging which actually took place and the sport attending it (Luke xxiii. 11), so that he has really omitted it.

walls of the court, formed them into a wreath whose appearance suggested a regal diadem, and then mockingly greeted this puppet king as King of the Jews. This action was an expression of the scorn entertained by these imperial mercenaries for the ludicrous assumption of the regal title by a criminal who was condemned to the most ignominious of all deaths. But more was yet to come. The royal head was now abused, for the soldiers smote it with a reed and spat on it with contempt; and then, after abusing a man who was defenceless against their insults, they bowed the knee before Him, and with mocking mien paid Him the most humble homage (Mark xv. 16–19).[1]

This scene, in which ridicule was united with cruelty, has ever been before the mind of Christendom when it was described as "suffered under Pontius Pilate." And undoubtedly it could only have happened if the governor purposely allowed full scope to the unbounded insolence of the soldiery. He had yielded, and yet something within him seemed still to struggle against such submission. The thought therefore occurred to him to rouse the sympathy of the people, and proceeding on that pity to make a last attempt at rescue. Once more he led Jesus, thus mockingly attired, before the tribunal and showed Him to the people—this man with the blood-stained countenance and the back torn with scourging. The fact of his bringing Him out again, instead of allowing the execution to take its course, was intended to show that although he had ordered crucifixion he did not regard Him as a dangerous character, and was desirous that they should be contented with this satisfaction of their thirst for revenge. There was surely no meaning in desiring the death of a man who patiently and unresistingly allowed himself to be maltreated. This feeling of Pilate's explains the words which were uttered with a certain degree of compassion: *Ecce homo!*

[1] It is really explanatory of this act when the first evangelist says a scarlet military mantle was put in the place of the regal purple to which even John testifies (xix. 2, 5), and which it is very possible had been preserved among other spoils; the same thing may be said of the statement in the first Gospel, that the reed with which Jesus was beaten on the face and head was previously given to Him as a sceptre. Even the way in which the mocking homage is separated from the ill-treatment, shows that in the first Gospel we have only a redaction of the vivid scene recorded by Mark (Matt. xxvii. 28–30).

But the high priests and their followers still demanded crucifixion (John xix. 4–6). And we must not forget that the matter had taken a turn which did not quite meet the wishes of the hierarchy. Pilate had neither confirmed their sentence, nor himself condemned Jesus to death; in giving way to the violent demands of the people, he had only declared himself willing to permit the crucifixion (comp. Luke xxiii. 24). And precisely because it was they who—anticipating any movement of sympathy among the people—now demanded that the order should be carried out,[1] did Pilate again declare himself ready to allow *them* to proceed with the execution of Jesus, although he saw no cause for it. But as crucifixion was not a punishment recognised in their legal code, and as they had really asked for it in order to put the odium of the deed upon the Romans, this permission would have been very far from serving their purpose. In this form they could hardly accept it, especially as Pilate's reason for giving it showed that what he gave them liberty to do was *to* crucify an innocent man. They therefore protested against the suspicion of their demanding the death of the guiltless. But now at last they were compelled to throw aside the mask, and quitting the ground upon which they had asked a sentence of death from the governor, they declared that with the observance of every legal form they had condemned the prisoner to death because He gave Himself out to be the Son of God (John xix. 6 f.).

The efforts the governor had already made were really caused by the suggestions of conscience, which he hid from himself by supposing that His disquietude was owing to an indisposition to carry out the will of this imperious, fanatical hierarchy. But we see that there was really a deeper reason for it from the suddenly excited dread of the vengeance of God, in case there might be something true in this man's assertion. The idea of a son of the gods was not so entirely foreign to the Gentile consciousness (comp. Mark xv. 39);

[1] The fact that it seems here as if the priests had first given expression to a demand incited by the people (Mark xv. 11–13) is evidently explicable by this, that in John's Gospel in regard to this transaction the people are totally ignored (comp. p. 353, note), although the scourging shows (John xix. 1) that the crucifixion had already been demanded and accorded.

and it is a well-known experience, that it is unbelieving scepticism which most easily passes into crass superstition. Once again Pilate caused Jesus to be taken within the palace, desiring to learn from Him something more definite regarding His antecedents. The silence which we found incomprehensible at the first audience was now a necessity (Mark xv. 5); for this Gentile lacked every condition of apprehension which was needful for going more profoundly into this question. Pilate seemed to resent this silence, and endeavoured to alarm Jesus by reminding Him of his power over life and death. The prisoner, however, gave him to understand that that did not affect Him, for His life was in a higher hand: Even if the governor were to abuse the power bestowed on him, he would not be the one entirely at fault; it would be he who, animated by palpable maliciousness, and fully conscious of what he was doing, had put a matter into his hands which he was hardly in a position to comprehend and deal with (John xix. 8–11). This mild and noble answer made a great impression. Conjoined with the fear of the gods, which the unanswered question had aroused in Pilate, this induced him to come to the determination to break off all negotiations with the hierarchy and set the prisoner free. He must in some way have announced his resolution to the high priests; but for this moment they had reserved their last triumph. Seizing upon their first accusation of high treason, they threatened an appeal to the emperor in the event of Pilate liberating an acknowledged pretender to the crown. This expedient succeeded. Such an accusation was always hazardous, for the Emperor Tiberius was jealous and suspicious in regard to his power; and other things might have been mentioned about Pilate's rule which would have brought it to a close before the time. Fear of deposition conquered the last remnant of conscientiousness, as well as the fear of the gods, which had been little more than excited; Pilate solemnly ascended the judgment-seat and pronounced the final sentence (John xix. 12 f.).

The assumption cannot be entertained that John represents the governor as making another attempt to influence the populace. The somewhat obscure way in which the fourth evangelist describes Pilate as pronouncing sentence shows

that this description is no fiction; for in that case much greater prominence would have been given to the exciting cause. Jesus of course is now attired in His own garments, and when Pilate presents Him to the people as their king, he intends to show that he acknowledges the crime which had been attributed to the prisoner. Purposely, however, he does not do so by a formal judicial declaration affirming that Jesus had striven for the kingdom in Israel, but in a half bantering remark which shows the absurdity of such a supposition, and yet leaves room for the idea that he acknowledges the guilt which the prisoner had brought upon Himself by such a claim. Moreover, he affirms once more that it is at their request that he presents Him to be crucified whom they have declared to be a pretender to the throne (John xix. 14 f.). This was what was referred to when the oral tradition said that Pilate used a symbolical action customary among the Jews (comp. Deut. xxi. 6 f.), to wash his hands in innocence, and that the guilt of which Jesus had already predicted the punishment (Matt. xxiii. 35) the people voluntarily invited upon their own heads (Matt. xxvii. 24 f.). Their hypocritical declaration of loyalty (John xix. 15) was their final decision against the true Messiah, and it entered His murder in the catalogue of their sins.[1]

But the priests had not yet got what they wanted. Pilate had pronounced no condemnation, but had only permitted

[1] According to John, it was about the sixth hour, *i.e.* towards mid-day, that Pilate ascended the judgment-seat to pronounce final sentence (xix. 14). We do not know how long the procurator gave the people to decide about the Easter amnesty; but as all these transactions, as well as the scourging and the preparations for it, must have taken up some time, this hour is not an improbable one. It can neither be supposed that John, who always calculates time according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, should here have taken the Roman form, nor that this is a re-formation of the older tradition, which cannot be altogether explained by its references to Passover customs, which can hardly have been known in detail to his readers. There is indeed an insoluble contradiction between his statement and Mark's, for the latter represents Jesus as being crucified at nine o'clock in the morning (Mark xv. 25). But the specifications in Mark are always calculated according to the divisions of the day, which clearly shows that he had no definite tradition before him as to the time at which the various incidents took place, so that he was obliged to infer their relative position. Even John's statement is only an approximate one, though undoubtedly the more correct of the two (xix. 14), but yet the difference is not so great as would appear at the first glance.

them to proceed with the execution they demanded. With weak compliance he had sacrificed a man, whom neither Roman law nor his own conscience allowed him to condemn, to the fanaticism of a nation and its religious authorities, which he ought to have governed. The priests were obliged to be contented with what they could secure (John xix. 16 f.). To those who were not aware of the true position of affairs the execution would appear to be a Roman one, and the lovers of appearance could rest contented if this found credence.

CHAPTER VIII.

CRUCIFIED.

THE punishment of crucifixion was as entirely foreign to the Mosaic law as it was to the customs of Israel. The Romans were the first to introduce it, and it was always considered the symbol of the extreme of shame and agony that man could endure (comp. Luke xiv. 27). Even the rhetoric of Cicero exhausted itself in indignation at this "most cruel and disgraceful" death, to which slaves were doomed, or which served to frighten street thieves and rebels. We have no absolutely reliable information as to the manner of execution, and at the present day it is considered probable that the form of our crucifix is scarcely the correct one. To begin with, the pillar of the cross was not so high as is usually believed, being but little more than the height of a man, and it also appears very doubtful whether it rose above the transverse beam at all, and it is supposed that the latter beam was laid horizontally across the top of the other one. The body of the unhappy sufferer rested on a wooden peg in the centre of the pillar, the arms were spread out on the transverse beam, and the hands were fastened with strong iron nails. The dispute as to whether the feet too were nailed was raised by the older Rationalism on behalf of its trance-hypothesis, and has long been decided in the affirmative, even apart from these Gospels which give the testimony of those who had beheld the crucifixion. Terrible must have been the suffering caused by this piercing of the hands and feet in their most sensitive parts; terrible the extension of the outstretched limbs with their burning, throbbing wounds; terrible the fearful stopping of the flow of the blood, the increasing exhaustion and nervous prostration, and the growing thirst of this slow martyrdom.

Before the gates of Jerusalem was a hill, the name of

which, Golgotha, *i.e.* the place of a skull, does not mean that the skulls of the executed were scattered about, but refers to the shape of a bare rock (Luke xxiii. 33). Thither, about noon, the procession of death was seen moving, for the hierarchy had doubtless urged the speedy execution of the sentence. It is quite imaginary to suppose that Pilate offered a whole division of his army for escort. An execution which in the first instance he only permitted in order to please the people, and after again hesitating, finally consented to, out of alarm at the menaces of the populace, needed no security against a revolutionary rising on their part. Besides, it was not Jesus alone who was to be put to death. According to all the Gospels, two common thieves were led out with Him to be crucified (Luke xxiii. 32). It has been disputed who it was that Pilate wished to insult most by this act, Jesus or the Jews, and some have even attributed it to the importunity of the latter. In truth, however, the form in which Pilate, according to John, consented finally to the crucifixion, receives fresh confirmation from this fact. It was impossible for him to place his soldiers at the disposal of the hierarchy, that, at its behest, they should inflict this punishment upon Jesus. He had therefore arranged for the execution of two malefactors who were awaiting their sentence of death, and had left it to the hierarchy to make use of this opportunity to put to death the so-called King of the Jews. It would be their doing that Jesus was crucified between the two criminals (Mark xv. 27 ; comp. John xix. 18).

According to the customary practice at crucifixions, the delinquent was obliged to carry his own cross to the place of execution (comp. Luke xiv. 27). John certainly saw a special significance in this when he told how this additional torture was laid upon Jesus, and how His sufferings began in the procession to the place of death (John xix. 17). But it is an incredible supposition of modern criticism that John wishes to deny the well-known fact recorded by the oldest tradition, that on the way Jesus had to be relieved of the cross; and the most improbable reasons are given for this denial. Keim may be quite right in saying that it was by no means a feeling of pity which caused Jesus' cross to be taken from Him; it does not even appear that He sank

beneath the weight of it through sheer weakness; perhaps exhausted by the tortures of the past night He was hindering the march of the soldiers by the slowness of His movements. In any case, we see from the oldest narration how it was that this fact in particular has been held in remembrance. Two members of the Christian Church, Alexander and Rufus by name, were both well known to the readers of Mark's Gospel, and when their father became a disciple of Christ, he accounted it one of the most precious memories of his life that he had helped Jesus to bear His cross. At the time it was naturally not very agreeable to Simon, this Grecian Jew, who, though born in Cyrene, appears to have had some property near Jerusalem, when, as he returned from the field, the soldiers, with their usual rude insolence to the provincials, required him, as the best man they had met for the purpose, to bear the cross (Mark xv. 21). We would fain be able to verify a reminiscence which Luke has preserved for us, as surely as we can this incident. To make the requisition of Simon a proof that Jesus journeyed solitarily along without being accompanied by a staring mob, is merely an example of critical craftiness which contradicts all human experience. But it is not to be wondered at, that among the women of Jerusalem some were to be found who pitied the cruel fate of a man once so beloved in the capital. And yet we do not know to whom we owe the word which Jesus is said to have addressed to them, nor if He uttered it on the way to the cross. Enough that it is quite in keeping with the sublime self-forgetfulness of Jesus, and His deep sympathy with the city which crucified Him, when, on beholding the tears of the women who followed Him weeping, He thought of the far more bitter ones they would one day shed over their own fate and that of their children, when they would call on the mountains and hills to bury them, so that they might not see the approaching misery. In reference to His own fate He is described as saying: If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? (Luke xxiii. 27–31).

At last they arrived at Golgotha, where the dread deed was to be carried out. Before the crucifixion began it was customary, at least in Palestine, to give the delinquents a

narcotic drink, that they might be rendered unconscious, and insensible to the agonies of the execution. But as Jesus wished to face with clear consciousness the suffering He had voluntarily taken upon Himself, He refused to accept of the wine mingled with myrrh (Mark xv. 23).[1] Now, doubtless, a certain space was enclosed by the executioners, the three crosses were raised, the victims stripped, and drawn up to the height of the cross by ropes, and the barbarous fastening of hands and feet began. What passed in Jesus' soul while these tortures were in progress can hardly be expressed in words. He who had commanded His disciples to pray in secret (Matt. vi. 6) was not likely to let His tormentors see that now through prayer to His Father He was overcoming the worst they could do to Him, and that His mind was not occupied with His own fate, but was filled with the pitying love which seeks and saves the lost. It is quite impossible that any one of His followers among the crowd, which was denied all access to the cross, can have heard the whispered prayer which was wrung from His lips. We must regard it as a token how deeply our evangelists apprehended the spirit of the Master, and how truly they interpreted it, when Luke represents Jesus at this moment, in accordance with His own command (Matt. v. 44), as praying for His enemies, who knew not what they did. That of course did not mean the Roman soldiery, for they performed their sanguinary duty in blind obedience; it referred to the adversaries who had brought Him to the cross (Luke xxiii. 34). When the horrible task was finished, the white tablets, which perhaps had been carried before the malefactors in the procession to the place of crucifixion, and which contained a declaration of the reason of their death, had to be fastened above the crosses. When the governor was asked what superscription should be placed over that of Jesus, he commanded that they should describe Him as the King of the

[1] Even the first evangelist no longer perceives the object of this offer, and therefore takes it as a sign of contempt, in agreement with Ps. lxix. 21, so that he describes the drink according to this passage, and makes Jesus reject it on account of its disagreeable taste (Matt. xxvii. 34). It is characteristic how Keim, after the manner of the worst harmonists, exegetically and critically mishandles the text of Matthew in order to escape the acknowledgment that it shows a completely secondary elaboration of the description by Mark.

Jews (John xix. 19). Again it is Mark who has preserved the most original form of the curt inscription (Mark xv. 26). The priests considered it an insult to their people that a crucified malefactor should be described as their king, and they demanded that His pretension to the kingly title should rather be given as His crime. It is generally regarded as a small exhibition of temper on the part of the governor, that he here revenged the defiance of his leniency by redoubled obstinacy, and positively refused the request (John xix. 21 f.). But the fact is overlooked that this is quite in accordance with his attitude during the trial of Jesus. He was not convinced that Jesus had ever laid claim to the royal title in the sense in which His execution was demanded, and he could not assign that as His offence; he could only express what he had asserted from the first, that he had permitted the crucifixion of the man described to him as the King of the Jews (Mark xv. 12, 15; John xix. 14 f.). And so it was that in the three languages spoken in Palestine (John xix. 20), the name with which all His historical importance is connected was openly proclaimed over the cross of Jesus.

The clothes of those who were crucified were the perquisites of the executioners, and all the Gospels have preserved a reminiscence of how the division was decided by the casting of lots (Mark xv. 24). How it happened that they could not agree over so poor an inheritance is first explained by John. The executioners were apparently selected from the ordinary quaternion of soldiers (comp. Acts xii. 4), and were commanded by a centurion (Mark xv. 39); they could scarcely have found a ground of quarrel in the scanty garments of the two thieves, and Jesus' clothes could probably be divided into three or four more or less equal parts. But He possessed a costly under-vesture, woven in one piece; perhaps the gift of some friendly woman. The question as to who was to possess this, and whether it was to be as an equivalent for the other three garments, or as something into the bargain, the soldiers decided by lot. John (xix. 23 f.) saw in this the literal fulfilment of a Messianic prophecy in the Psalms (Ps. xxii. 18).[1] But it was certainly not on account of this

[1] Criticism has indeed been inclined to consider this incident as having been entirely taken from the Psalms. Keim opposed this assumption, but only in

reference that the scene was so deeply imprinted on the memory of the eye-witnesses. The sight of the soldiers, who kept watch beneath the cross, passing the time by casting lots for the last possessions of the Lord, appeared like a bitter mockery of Him who was slowly dying there. We can better understand this feeling when we learn who those eye-witnesses were whose reminiscences formed the basis for the scanty tradition of the Lord's last hours on the cross.

It cannot indeed be denied that from the time of Jesus' arrest the source of Mark's Gospel is substantially exhausted. Apart from the best known details of Peter's denial, this Gospel only tells what had become known in the town as to the procedure in Jesus' trial before the Council, and as to Pilate's negotiations with the people. It seems as if Peter, bowed down by the experience of his own weakness at the first step he took to learn the fate of his Master, withdrew into complete retirement, and the most of the other disciples seem to have shrunk from being spectators of the dreadful deed. On the other hand, we hear that the Galilean women who believed in Jesus, and had formerly served Him so faithfully, were possessed of sufficient fortitude to follow Him to the cross, and to await the issue at least from afar. But the manner in which Mark especially names Mary Magdalene, the mother of James and Joses, and Salome (Mark xv. 40 f.), is only to be understood if he received his information from them. They would never forget how the curious multitude that passed by the place of execution made ironical observations about the destroying and rebuilding of the temple, and sneeringly challenged Jesus to prove His power, and come down from the cross. Even the leaders of the people were not able to deny themselves the satisfaction of feasting their eyes upon the work their hatred had accomplished, and with insolent scorn they offered to acknowledge Jesus, if He, who was said to have helped so many, would

order to reproach John with producing a feigned fulfilment of prophecy, apparently because the youngest evangelist had first uttered the *motive* that had long been present to the minds of all. In addition to this, the seamless robe becomes the high priest's garment, although Strauss was inclined to see in it the unity of the Church.

now help Himself, and prove Himself the anointed of Jehovah by miraculously saving Himself (Mark xv. 29–32).[1] Even the two thieves crucified along with Him are said by the oldest tradition to have found a distraction from their own pain in taking part in reviling their companion in suffering (Mark xv. 32). Later, it is true, we find it alleged that only one of them joined in these invectives, while the other reproved this excess of hard-heartedness, and fearful for his eternal salvation, turned with his last breath to Jesus, in whose guiltless look he read the seal of His highest calling; it is said, too, that the bystanders heard how, at that last moment, Jesus promised salvation in the other world to the repentant thief (Luke xxiii. 39–43).[2]

One of the disciples, however, stood beside the cross. It was the beloved disciple of the Fourth Gospel. He had brought with him his mother's sister, that *mater dolorosa* in whom the words of the aged Simeon were to-day to be fulfilled in an unexpected way. The evangelist does not mention his own presence there in order to defend the honour of the other disciples, whose absence was no reproach to them, but to communicate the last memorable testament Jesus made to him (John xix. 25–27). The "Tendenz" criticism, hostile to John, chooses this touching moment to revel in bold ecclesiastical combinations. To it, Mary is merely the representative of the Church, whom the Logos-

[1] Here again the first Gospel clearly shows a literary continuation of the description by Mark, for it endeavours to prove these mocking words to be a literal fulfilment of Ps. xxii. 7 f. (Matt. xxvii. 39–43).

[2] It is useless to dispute about the historicity of such traditions, with whose source we are not acquainted, and the possibility of which we can as easily criticize as we can confirm them by physiological suppositions, for which every proof is wanting. All that we can be certain of is that the wonderful beauty of the whole conversation belongs to Luke, who here has undeniably caught the meaning of Jesus. For the crucified, in their last death agony, were hardly in a condition to converse at any length; and certainly no one was permitted to approach them sufficiently near to catch the dying words which fell from their exhausted lips. How much material was afforded for these enlargements by what was really seen we do not know; but the supposition that such a scene was invented offhand to illustrate a dogmatic tenet, is opposed to the whole character of our Gospels. Luke describes how the people, overawed by the sight of the death on the cross, smote on their breasts, and returned home (xxiii. 48); but that is of course no traditionary fact, but a reflection by the writer himself on the impression made upon the spectators.

evangelist in his antipathy to Peter describes as taken from the chief of the Jewish Christians and given into the care of the idealized beloved disciple. It even believes that it is a strong historical reason against the truth of John's account, to say that the young man did not possess a house to which he could take the mother of Jesus. But the fact is that he had his father's home, and his family circle were very nearly related to her. Mary was certainly neither without protection nor help, for she had grown-up sons; but we know that from their attitude towards their great Brother (John vii. 5) they were not in a position to be her stay and comfort in these the darkest moments of her life. If they would not believe in His high calling unless He fulfilled all that the people expected of Him, the cross on Golgotha would extinguish the last ray of hope. On the other hand, there was no one dearer to the heart of Jesus, no one who cherished such a love for Him and such an understanding of His Person, as this John. To commend the bereaved mother to him who, after her own sons, was her nearest relative, was our Lord's last consolation; to inculcate on the beloved disciple the duty of a child, was the last loving act in His earthly life. Men may reduce the number of words it was possible for Jesus to utter during these last hours. They may extend the barriers round the cross on Golgotha so as to exclude all idle gazers, and yet there can be no manner of doubt that these two must have come near enough to look up to their dying Friend, and to be recognised by His glazing eye. They are no longer words of tenderness that He exchanges with them; like a sigh escaping from the lips of the sufferer, they heard Him say: "Behold thy son! behold thy mother!"

Darkly did the heavens look down on the three crosses on Golgotha; not a sunbeam penetrated the black masses of cloud; it seemed as if night were coming over the earth as the hour of His departure approached who would fain have brought the world salvation. We are told that it seemed to the eye-witness of that hour (Matt. xv. 33) as if heaven veiled its face before the most awful deed that had ever been done on earth. It has been disputed whether our Gospels intend to describe a natural eclipse of the sun, which, as is

well known, is impossible at the time of Passover, for that occurs at full moon; or whether it was a miraculous phenomenon, in which God Himself pronounced judgment on the blackest deed of the children of men; or even whether the sight was confined to Palestine, or visible to the whole earth. But our evangelists were the last men to have known how to propound and answer such a question as the first, and the second is answered by the wording of the context and the significance of the darkness, which, of course, applied to the whole earth. We can understand, and need not be surprised at the way in which the eye-witnesses interpreted the signs of the heavens; and in fact no miraculous sign, however great, could have any significance, if not embraced and interpreted by faith.

Out of this darkness was heard the last sigh of the expiring Redeemer. According to John, it was an expression of desire for refreshment (John xix. 28); and doubtless he is right, for death by crucifixion is terribly long, and burning thirst torments the dying. John thoughtfully observes how, even in this, there is a fulfilment of Messianic prophecy (Ps. lxix. 21); and even the older tradition thought it heard in this sigh the first words of a psalm which foretells so much of the Messiah's sufferings (Mark xv. 34; comp. Ps. xxii. 2). It is undeniable that that cry of agony was not only the expression of intense physical suffering, but was the climax of our Lord's mental anguish. Indeed, there is no need of dogmatic constructions to understand it. The moment had come which Jesus had foreseen in Gethsemane—God had forsaken Him; He had not frustrated the plans of His foes, He had not destroyed their wicked work with His almighty hand; Jesus must drink the bitter cup to the dregs. There was no need to refer to the comforting conclusion of the psalm, in which the devout singer has fought his way through to hope and assurance. Even if Jesus used these words in the fullest sense of him who spoke them first, He could not renounce His fate or His work, for He had long known that that would be crowned, not destroyed, by what was appointed for Him to suffer. For Him this "Why?" was no frantic appeal to the God who shrouds His ways in

darkness to solve an enigma which passed human understanding, for the meaning of this hour—if come it must—had been made clear to Him long ago. He had long resigned Himself to the will of His Father, in the event of His deciding that this hour could not be avoided. But that did not diminish its terrible character, it could not modify its anguish; and in the fullest consciousness of this, His heart poured itself out before God with another "Why?" This is a heartrending appeal why no other way could be found than this tasting of that bitterest experience of the righteous when God allows Him to sink to the deepest depths of suffering. That is the agony of God-forsakenness, which the Holy One of God had to endure for the sake of sinners.

There is no doubt that these words of the psalm expressed the profoundest reason for the death agony of Jesus. The "Eli! Eli!" by which, even in the height of that anguish, Jesus cried to His God in heaven, is all that is historically confirmed by the best attested facts; for the bystanders believed that they heard an appeal to Elias to help Him (Mark xv. 35). But there can also be no doubt that this cry expressed a longing for refreshment. And there was a compassionate soul standing beside the cross who filled a sponge with vinegar, and fastening it to a reed—a stalk of hyssop, according to John — conveyed it to His mouth to quench His thirst (Mark xv. 36; John xix. 29).[1] Luke is certainly mistaken when he sees a fresh insult in this action (Luke xxiii. 36), for the "vinegar" was evidently the ordinary soldiers' drink of sour wine, which the watch had at hand for their own refreshment; nor is it correct to say, as the first evangelist does, that the others wished to deny it to Him, in order to see whether the Elias He had summoned would indeed come to His aid (Matt. xxvii. 49). According to the representation of Mark, it is a pitying

[1] Considering the whole situation, especially as described by John, it can scarcely have been any one but a Roman soldier. Keim deduces from this a proof against the genuineness of the call upon Elias. But why should the soldiers in garrison at Jerusalem never have heard anything of the great men of the Old Testament? In any case, the misunderstanding or contorting of Eli or Eloi by an Aramaic-speaking Jew is scarcely conceivable (Mark xv. 34).

soldier who, that he may not rouse opposition, apparently acquiesces in the scorn of the bystanders, and explains his action by saying that he wishes to preserve the life of the dying man long enough to see whether Elias would come to save Him.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when this last sigh was wrung from the burdened soul of Jesus; the agony of the cross had reached its climax and with the hour of death, deliverance was at hand.

CHAPTER IX.

DEAD AND BURIED.

DEATH by crucifixion is a terribly prolonged one. The sufferers generally lingered more than twelve hours, some of them to the second day, and sometimes even to the third. The great loss of blood was not in itself fatal, for it soon ceased in consequence of the inflammation of the swollen wounds. Death usually resulted from a gradual stiffening of the muscles, veins, and nerves, although it was sometimes produced by a flow of blood to the brain; only strong natures perished from starvation. Such as were removed from the cross after a few hours' suffering might possibly be saved through medical care, and yet in a case of which Josephus tells us only one man was saved out of three.

It is therefore undeniable that Jesus' last despairing cry to God was not answered by a miraculous intervention on His Father's part to preserve Him from death, but by a speedy deliverance from the tortures of crucifixion by an unusually speedy death. We have no exact knowledge as to the hour of execution, for the indefinite calculation by Mark must be considerably modified in accordance with John's statement (xix. 14; comp. p. 359, note). But there is no doubt that when, late in the afternoon (towards five o'clock), it was announced to Pilate that Jesus was already dead, he was surprised at its having happened so soon, and called for confirmation from the centurion in charge (Mark xv. 44 f.). Of course it does not follow that this premature death was produced by any particular miracle. Only Schleiermacher's strange Docetism could assume that a nature so thoroughly sound as Jesus' was—though that in itself does not presuppose any particular degree of physical power—was soon exhausted by the tortures of body and soul undergone during

the long night and sleepless morning. It is certainly a striking fact that, according to our sources, Jesus died when giving vent to a great cry (Mark xv. 37), which Mark says seemed so remarkable to the centurion beside the cross that he regarded it as a proof that this Jesus was a son of the gods—a demigod or hero, who did not die of exhaustion as the crucified usually did, but while in the possession of full strength breathed out his soul in a shout of triumph (xv. 39). But even the one apostle who stood beside his Master to the last believed that this was a cry of victory, which proclaimed the completion of His work (John xix. 30). It was Luke who first represented it as a prayer in which, by some words taken from the Psalms, Jesus commended His Spirit into the hands of His Father (xxiii. 46; comp. Ps. xxxi. 6). Modern expounders have regarded it as a sign that Jesus' death was caused by a sudden breaking of the heart, or by the bursting of some vessel in the head, or else by palpitation. No decision can be come to by any one who calmly considers the matter. But it is quite certain that the eye-witnesses were aware of the moment when Jesus bowed the head and gave up the ghost (John xix. 30).

This moment more than any other has engrossed the adoring meditations of believers. Even the Epistle to the Hebrews thoughtfully explains the significance of Jesus' death, whose atoning power rendered possible a new covenant relationship between the Church and its God. It appears in the Epistle that this death removed the veil dividing the Jehovah throned in the Holy of Holies from a sinful people, or else that it opened up a way to God for those who are purified from sin (Heb. ix. 8 f.; comp. x. 19 f.). In the evangelic tradition this was expressed as if at the moment of Jesus' death the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom (Mark xv. 38), thus giving admission to the throne of grace. It is clearly wrong to suppose that there is any reference here to the cessation of sacrifice, or even to the approaching destruction of the temple; but any one who feels the necessity of confirming facts regarded by faith as certain, by means of an event of symbolical import, will have laid upon him the duty of explaining how the coincidence can be proved between the tearing of the veil of

the temple and the moment of Jesus' death, for the sanctuary of the temple was only entered at certain hours; and as our tradition best testifies, the exact time of day when Jesus died was known by no one with certainty. It is an equally distinct article of the Christian faith, that by dying Jesus vanquished death, because those who through Him are perfectly purified from sin are assured of ultimate resurrection to heavenly glory and blessedness. At an after date this certitude was declared to have been gained by express tidings from the other world. It was said that some of the Old Testament saints who still waited their perfecting through the death of Jesus (Heb. xi. 40) appeared to certain of the faithful in Jerusalem after His resurrection, and testified that at the moment when He died the tombs in the rocks were opened by an earthquake, and they themselves were raised to celestial life (Matt. xxvii. 51–53). There is, of course, no allusion here to a reawakening to earthly existence, so that there is no need for making anxious inquiries as to where these men had dwelt between the resurrection on Good Friday and their appearance after Easter. But even though Paul calls Christ the first-fruits of them that are asleep (1 Cor. xv. 20), and only speaks of a general resurrection of all believers at the last day (1 Cor. xv. 52), he knows nothing of these witnesses to the vanquishing power of Christ's decease over death. Whatever might be the truth as to these appearances, of which only the first evangelist has gathered anything from tradition, they were certainly not the producers of that faith, but only a product of it. The dispute as to the historicity of this earthquake we can leave to those who believe they are in a position to prove that the graves of those who rose were opened in this way, and who regard a resurrection to celestial life as impossible without such an opening of the graves.

The only analogue to the crucifixion known in the Old Testament was the suspension of those sentenced to capital punishment upon the pillory or gallows. This shameful intensifying of the execution was regarded as a sign that the curse of God rested upon the dead, and in this sense Paul looked on the crucifixion as a token that Christ is become a curse for us (Gal. iii. 13). According to the law, the bodies

might not remain hanging over night, that the land should not be polluted (Deut. xxi. 22 f.); and as the setting sun proclaimed the approach of the festive Sabbath,—a day that dared not be desecrated by such defilement,—the priests besought the governor that the corpses of the crucified might be taken down. But as it was opposed to all experience to suppose that they would die before the evening, the fact of their death had to be put beyond a shadow of doubt. Without in any way mitigating the severity of the punishment, this could be done by executing on them the *crurifragium*, which was usually regarded as an independent punishment. Pilate had no reason for refusing the request, so he ordered some of his guards to go with mallets and break the legs of the sufferers, who were already exhausted by the agony of the cross, that an end might be put to their miserable lives. It was, however, only necessary to do this in the case of the two thieves. The centurion had already observed that Jesus was dead (Mark xv. 39), and even the new executioners easily convinced themselves of the fact, and were spared the trouble of a third task. Yet they took care to show that the punishment had been fully carried out, for one of them with his spear pierced the heart of Jesus (John xix. 31-34).[1]

The more distinctly John affirms that he had been an eye-witness of this scene (xix. 35), the more eager is the criticism which rejects this Gospel in pointing out that this is the

[1] This narrative is closely connected with both Jewish and Gentile customs, for although the "stroke of grace" with the lance or sword was not always observed at the *crurifragium*, we have abundant testimony to show that it was generally the case; but in spite of this, Keim has tortured the narrative with the most worthless objections. That the putrefaction of the corpses would have desecrated the Sabbath is a perfectly arbitrary assumption which has no support from the law; and if the demand for the *crurifragium* was not in accordance with "the humane spirit of the Jews," it cannot be said that the priests showed much of this spirit in their dealings with Jesus; and even the cruel breaking of the limbs was more a deliverance from the anguish of crucifixion than an intensification of it. The assumption that the first detachment of soldiers—who were certainly not armed with clubs—was commissioned to carry out the second order, is opposed to the clear meaning of the Johannine account, in order that what he says of Jesus' death may be placed in opposition to Mark xv. 39. The fact of our being told that the order was executed in regard to the two thieves, before anything is said as to what took place with the body of Jesus, does not mean, of course, that the soldiers examined their bodies at the same time.

sign of our having to deal with a fiction composed for a certain purpose. Those who say this, however, do not observe that it is the accumulation of such points as accidentally coincide with the narrative of the historical circumstances which shows this fiction to be a genuine work of art, and prevents there being any possibility of proving its "tendency" character. Jesus is said to be represented in the prophecy by types as the true Paschal Lamb, because no bone of it might be broken (Ex. xii. 46), although this is not the meaning. The passage referred to here, as well as that directly connected with it (Zech. xii. 10), are said to prove plainly that the omission of the breaking of the limbs, which was predicted in prophecy, as well as the wound in His side, were a proof to faith of His being the promised Messiah.[1] But in opposition to the plain meaning of the evangelist, criticism as well as apologetics, ratio-naturalism as well as supra-naturalism, have always laid greatest stress upon the flow of blood and water which is said to have resulted from the spear-thrust (xix. 34). At one time this occurrence was looked upon as a proof of death having taken place, although any such decomposition of the blood was almost unknown in general experience, and is nowhere testified to as being a customary way of ascertaining the fact of death; and the actuality of Jesus' death was never disputed until it occurred to Rationalism to change the miracle of the resurrection into the awakening of one only apparently dead. Again, we are told that this was a most extraordinary miracle, one that showed Jesus' body to be beyond the reach of decomposition, or else to be in

[1] Vain are the attempts of Tübingen criticism to make this passage a proof that the fourth evangelist desired to represent Jesus as being the true Paschal Lamb; of course it is inferred from that that the mention of the Lamb of God is fictional (i. 29), and everything else was altered—the day of Jesus' death, the day of the anointing, the hour of the crucifixion, and the like. But besides the direct prophecy from Zechariah, only a single other passage can be found (Ps. xxxiv. 21), and in phraseology at least that does quite as well, especially as the evangelist never demonstrates the fulfilment of predictions by types. But that from those two remote prophetic passages, of which the first was suggested by a reference to the Paschal Lamb and the second through revelation (John i. 7), a history could be constructed comprehensible in itself, could only result from the strangest play of chance, particularly as the spear-thrust is said to have been regarded by the evangelist as important, not on its own account, but by reason of its consequences.

course of being glorified, although decomposition of course does not begin at the moment of death, and the idea of a transfigured corporality is opposed to the very presence of blood (1 Cor. xv. 50). The testimony of anatomists and doctors, which has been appealed to, sometimes for and sometimes against the possibility of such a thing, of course proves nothing, since no definite idea of the occurrence can be gleaned from the scanty references by the evangelist; and no one is in a position to inquire into the condition of one dying by crucifixion, or to demonstrate the conditions under which death affected this organism. No doubt the evangelist only mentioned it, because the flow of blood and water seemed to him to have some significance. But the less apparent the significance, the less probable is it that the incident was invented for the sake of it; indeed, only an occurrence actually observed by the apostle could have been the inciting cause for a view which for us has something far-fetched about it.[1]

"It was on the evening of the day of crucifixion that Joseph of Arimathæa, scarcely daring, as Mark indicates, to hope for permission, asked Pilate for the honour of being allowed to take Jesus' body from the cross and bury it (John xix. 38; (comp. Mark xv. 43). The governor granted the request after being again assured that life was extinct (Mark xv. 44 f.). It frequently happened that either as a gift, or for some consideration, the relations and friends had the bodies of the dead given over to them; in this case Pilate did it gratuitously. The removal of the bodies had already been ordered, and he must have thought it right that some one should see to the burial of Jesus. And besides, judging from the oldest tradition, which lately has been groundlessly dis-

[1] The simplest explanation is, that the evangelist regarded the decomposition of the blood and water as a reference to the power of the atoning blood of Christ in cleansing from the defilement of sin (1 John i. 7). But apologetics and criticism have ever vied with each other in finding secrets here which are inexplicable to the plain reader; at one time it is the pouring out of the Spirit, —though that cannot possibly have been represented by the blood,—and regarding which the water at the marriage in Cana was said to represent the very opposite (comp. vol. i. p. 332); at another, the two sacraments, or, proceeding upon the misconstrued passage, 1 John v. 6-8, the baptism of water and of blood. It is therefore plainly the expounders who have made the evangelist's remark an "ingenious trifling," or a profundity bordering upon "absurdity."

puted, this Joseph was himself an important member of the Council; he was distinguished from others of the same name by the place of his birth, Ramathaim, on the mount of Ephraim (comp. 1 Sam. i. 1). Without any particular explanation the later writers speak of him as a follower of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 57); but John declares that from fear of his colleagues he had not hitherto dared to show any peculiar interest in Him (xix. 38). This exactly coincides with the description given by Mark, who speaks of him in a very reserved manner as being one of those expectant Israelites who still looked for the consummation of the theocracy (xv. 43), — an indirect proof that he had hitherto held aloof from the band of Jesus' intimate adherents.[1] Now, however, he came openly forward and showed his sympathy with Him who had lived and suffered for the hope of Israel. There can be little question as to what led him to do this. The time had nearly come when the commencement of the Sabbath would prevent the friends of Jesus from taking any further measures in regard to the interment, and therefore it was of pressing moment that if the last honours were to be paid to Jesus' body, the nearest possible burying-place should be chosen. And it is evident that Joseph was the owner of a garden near the place of crucifixion, which seemed particularly suitable, for there was a tomb in it which had never yet been used (John xix. 41 f.).

[1] It is characteristic of such a criticism as that of Keim's, that it keeps to the statement of the first Gospel, which represents Joseph as being a rich disciple of Jesus, although that is manifestly only an inference drawn from the man's conduct, and his possession of a tomb. After rejecting some of the fabulous embellishments he himself had propounded, he offers obscure indications of threatening persecutions to which Joseph had exposed himself by his request, but which we only find mentioned in the apocryphal Gospels, which mistake the entire historical situation. We also hear from Keim about the merciful procurator, who was ready to grant what was asked (Mark xv. 45), without two thousand drachmas being spent in procuring the permission. "It is this criticism which scoffs at the harmless way in which the evangelist has connected the new report with the old tradition without observing the contradiction between the two. But even if Joseph knew of the *crurifragium*, it was necessary also after the execution of it to wait for the death of the criminal before taking the body from the cross; and in the interval he might easily find time for this petition to the governor, since, notwithstanding the order to break their limbs, Pilate could not allow the bodies to be removed without securing confirmation of their death.

Although only expressly mentioned by the first evangelist (Matt. xxvii. 60), it is perfectly evident that the cave made use of by Joseph was his own property, and that Jesus was not interred in a family vault already filled with other corpses. It was to him, therefore, that Jesus' followers appealed in their anxiety to give the Master honourable burial, and their reliance on him was not disappointed.

It was in the last hour before the setting of the sun that the friends of Jesus effected the sudden descent from the cross, and bore His body to the rocky tomb. Of course, in accordance with usual custom, the blood-stained corpse was washed (comp. Acts ix. 37) before being wrapped in the clothes of clean linen which had been secured so hastily (Mark xv. 46). There was not sufficient time to anoint the body; but those friends who were well off were not prevented from showing their great veneration for the deceased. This is the point where, according to John, that Nicodemus who had once come to Jesus by night and had spoken for Him in the Sanhedrin now came to the conclusion that the fall of Jesus, owing to the maliciousness of the heads of the people, was only a proof of His being divinely sent; in consequence of this, he now contributed largely to the honours of His burial.[1] But as time failed for preparing the body more particularly, he was obliged to content himself in the meantime with spreading the precious spices between the folds of linen (John xix. 39 f.). Whether those Galilean women who had followed Jesus to the cross knew of what the rich friend had done is most improbable, for Mark does not even mention their presence at the interment; but for them was left the most important duty of all—the anointing of the body. We cannot therefore be surprised that when the Sabbath came to a close, that is to say, on the evening of our Saturday, the most pressing duty they had to perform was

[1] Some critics regard this Nicodemus as a purely fictional character, or at best as a rich Jew whom, in the desire to honour Jesus, Christendom subsequently connected with this occasion; and those who think so look very dubiously upon the unheard-of luxury of the costly aromatics which Nicodemus is said to have contributed to His interment. But surely it is quite comprehensible, that although people afterwards talked of the abundant provision of myrrh and aloe wood provided by him, the fragrant mixture was not calculated by *Ultras*.

to purchase sweet-smelling herbs and prepare the ointment (Mark xvi. 1).[1] The oldest tradition, as we have seen, owes its account of the crucifixion to their communications, and besides the fact of the interment in Joseph's grave, it has only preserved the remembrance of what the women did or wished to do.

When the burial was over, the cave was closed with a great stone (Mark xv. 46). This was in accordance with Jewish custom, and was so evidently explained by the necessity of securing the bodies from thieves or from the attacks of wild beasts, that even the evangelists, who say nothing, assume that it was done (John xx. 1 ; comp. Luke xxiv. 2). Of course this would not prevent the women from preparing the ointment, for they might well suppose that the friends of the deceased would willingly allow them to open the grave in order to pay Him the last honour. It would have been different certainly, if, as the first evangelist assumes, the grave was officially sealed and put in charge of a Roman watch. We are told how the priests drew Pilate's attention to the fact that the late seducer of the people had spoken on one occasion of rising again after three days, and how the disciples might easily steal the body, and, under the pretext of His resurrection, recommence the Messianic movement with new energy ; and that for these reasons Pilate acquiesced in these precautionary measures (Matt. xxvii. 62–66). Even in its most moderate representatives, criticism has always poured

[1] Luke's idea was that the women did this before sunset on Friday (Luke xxiii. 46) ; but we know that there was not then sufficient time. The first evangelist had no longer in mind the preparations for the still unexecuted anointing, whether it was that to him the anticipated anointing (Matt. xxvi. 12) was the more important, or whether his account of the watch before the grave seemed to make this impossible. In spite of this, criticism patronizes his account as being the oldest ; it is the later writers who are said to have felt the want of the anointing which was actually omitted, and who at least affirmed that there was good-will to do it ; while it was John who finally poured out the fulness of royal honours upon the body of the crucified one. But the truth is that even John knew nothing of an anointing ; and we cannot see how legend could suppose that the followers of Jesus felt the want of embalming when He rose from the dead on the third day. Any doubt as to the fact of the burial having taken place Keim himself rejects with energy, appealing to 1 Cor. xv. 4, and to the Jewish custom which did not permit of the bodies remaining on the cross, and the fact that the interment was not a matter belonging to the military executioners.

doubts upon this narrative; ultimately, however, they all come to the one allegation—that Jesus never spoke directly of His resurrection. But if, as we have seen, this was actually the case, it is not unlikely that even the leaders of the people might hear something of it; and their conduct quite agrees with the only way in which they could judge it. But the oldest tradition knows nothing of this watch, though it distinctly mentions that the Galilean women visited the grave (Mark xv. 47), and while on the way were troubled about whom they would get to roll away the stone (xvi. 3); and we shall soon have an opportunity of seeing what it was that led to the report being spread. It is quite possible that Jesus' tomb had no other watchers than these loving women who wept for Him before the well-closed grave on the evening of Good Friday.

CHAPTER X.

THE THIRD DAY ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD.

THE history of every man closes with the grave. What lies beyond that belongs to the province of faith, and cannot be ascertained by any historical inquiry. But it is just here that Jesus' history claims to be unique. A few weeks after His death His followers came forward with the announcement that God had raised Him from the dead and exalted Him to His right hand (Acts ii. 32 f.), and that of this they had themselves been witnesses (i. 22, ii. 32). One out of the circle of Jesus' bitterest enemies had been won over to belief, and was now proclaiming everywhere the resurrection of Jesus as the means and the support of the message of salvation he brought to Jews and Gentiles (1 Cor. xv. 4, 14). These disciples do not wish to establish a belief in Jesus' continued spiritual existence; they ground their faith and their hope on the fact of His quitting the grave in the body (1 Cor. xv. 17, 23); they would be called liars before God and man if their witness to this fact should prove itself untrue (1 Cor. xv. 15). The writer of the Wolfenbüttel fragments did not hesitate to say that they did this with the good intention of planting true piety and morality in humanity. The history of the world shows that they succeeded, that through their message a new religio-ethical life was awakened, which has had a remarkable effect in making humanity young again; daily experience teaches that, even at the present day, a divine power proceeds from it, which gives to all souls longing for salvation the certainty of a new connection with God, as well as the power of a new life; but every sound religious and ethical feeling tells us that this effect cannot have proceeded from a lie. So much is therefore certain, that the disciples were convinced of the fact of Jesus' resurrection. The greatest critic of our

century has acknowledged that for the disciples Jesus' resurrection had become a firm and incontestable certainty, and that for them this fact of their consciousness had all the reality of an historical event; but the same critic has had to renounce any hope of explaining the phenomenon. Historical inquiry, however, cannot rest content with this. The history of Christendom cannot begin with an insoluble enigma. At the close of our narrative we again find ourselves face to face with a dilemma; either indisputable facts must be left unexplained, or else the historical inquirers, who care nothing for this philosophic dogma, which declares miracle to be impossible, must be permitted to attempt their explanation, even when that cannot be done without the assumption of a unique divine miracle.

The older Rationalism hoped to escape this dilemma by the hypothesis of the death being only an *apparent* one. It is no doubt true that, when no organ necessary to life has been destroyed, no universally accepted proof of death can be produced until corruption has set in; and the apostles were convinced that Jesus' flesh did not see corruption (Acts ii. 31, xiii. 37). We are reminded of the well-known fact that sufferers on the cross did not usually expire in a few hours; and we are told that, fortunately for Jesus, He was spared the breaking of His limbs, perhaps through the efforts of His worldly-wise friends; and that the wound made by the lance may not have been dangerous. Possibly, too, Jesus was only in a faint when He was taken down from the cross and carried to the sepulchre. There His Essene friends through their medical knowledge might render Him assistance; and we hear that if only it could be shown that the feet were not pierced (comp. 362), it might be regarded as conceivable that on Easter morning Jesus showed Himself beside the sepulchre attired in vestments belonging to the gardener, in the afternoon walked into the country, and in the evening, being completely restored, appeared among the disciples. At the present day it is not worth while to dissolve this fabrication of a phantasy destitute of all historical meaning, in the destruction of which Strauss earned his laurels as a critic, or even to prove that the sickly Christ, who was obliged to hide Himself carefully, but who at last did

die, could never be regarded by the disciples as victor over death and the grave. The fact is sufficient that this theory does not carry us beyond the standpoint of the writer of the Wolfenbüttel fragmentist, indeed we might say it is not on such a high level, in so far as the responsibility of the deception upon which tidings of the resurrection was founded is taken from the disciple, but brought into suspicious proximity with the person of Jesus. If through fortunate circumstances or timely care Jesus was saved from death and restored to His disciples, that could never give rise to the idea that He had risen from the dead. Those unknown friends, therefore, who are said to have rescued and cared for Him must have deceived the disciples purposely, and Jesus can have done nothing to show how mistaken they were when they supposed that a divine miracle of an extraordinary character had happened to Him.

Even Schleiermacher declared it to be of no importance whatever whether the death was complete or whether it had only affected the mind; but he would not deny that the return of Jesus to earthly existence was somehow connected with the unique character of His person. Those who follow Strauss not infrequently regard this occurrence as a miracle of Divine Providence, and in explanation of it Jesus' miraculous power of healing is pointed to, which in His own case was exhibited just as powerfully as at other times on those whom He cured, particularly as there were some among them who seemed to have fallen victims to death. The Easter morn and the open grave will show us that even this view does get over the worst difficulties of the "apparent death" hypothesis; even it must assume that Jesus died a second time, and however much this fact may be made an impenetrable mystery of, and declared to be in correspondence with, the unique character of His person, it undoubtedly removes any real significance from His reanimation. This difficulty is certainly avoided by the usual view of the resurrection, which, in room of a miracle of providence, places one of omnipotence, through which the body in the grave is reanimated and the restored life is concluded with the new miracle of a brilliant bodily ascension into heaven. Both views, however, coincide in this, that they think of Jesus as

returning to earthly existence through His resurrection. In vain is it asked what purpose was intended to be served by this prolongation of His earthly life by a few weeks, which He did not entirely devote to His disciples. If this intention was to show in Him the miraculous power of God, which can even raise the dead, that had already been fully demonstrated by those He Himself had raised; and any conclusion that might be deduced from this in regard to His Person and work, is prevented by the fact that what happened to Him now occurred before to Jairus' daughter, to the son of the widow of Nain, and to Lazarus. Even the conviction of the reality of such a miracle in no way explains the disciples' belief in Jesus' resurrection to heavenly existence, and to a continuation of that in a glorified body such as the believers hoped to receive at the last judgment, and of which Jesus had held out the prospect (Mark xii. 25).

The great objection, however, to this view is the fact that it is not in unison with our tradition regarding the appearances of Jesus which assured the disciples of His resurrection. Schleiermacher exerted himself in vain to prove that Jesus had continuous intercourse with His disciples, and that there was a connection between this existence and His previous life on earth; vain have been the attempts to answer the question where Jesus actually passed the time, by saying that the disciples shrank from asking. After Jesus' departure, His followers were to be formed into a Church, and among that circle some must have known if, after His resurrection, Jesus really lived an earthly existence with temporal needs. Our sources only know of one series of appearances, and of these Paul thought he could still distinguish which was the most important (1 Cor. xv. 5–7). The fact that Jesus no longer showed Himself to His enemies or to this people, might be explained by His wish to avoid rousing vain hopes, or to set agoing a new conflict; and we might suppose that the reason why His intercourse was so interrupted, was His desire to wean them gradually from sensuous earthly communion with Himself. But although Jesus doubtless presented Himself in bodily form, the appearances before the disciples of which we are told are by no

means the customary appearances of a sojourner upon earth. He does not come and go, but generally appears suddenly, and disappears in the same way (Luke xxiv. 31, 51); in John we are told He was found in their midst (John xx. 14, xxi. 4; comp. Luke xxiv. 36), although they were gathered together with closed doors (John xx. 19, 26). They were very far from recognising Him immediately (Luke xxiv. 16–31; John xx. 14 f., xxi. 4–7); they even doubted as to His identity (Matt. xxviii. 17), and were alarmed, thinking they had seen a spirit (Luke xxiv. 37). In their timidity no one dared address Him (John xxi. 12), but some fell down before Him, and gave Him divine honours (John xx. 17–28; Matt. xxviii. 9–17). It has been said that these instances are too far from being thoroughly guaranteed for any stress to be laid on isolated incidents. But our Gospels took their rise at a time when the general character of these appearances of Christ must have been well known from the communications of eye-witnesses, so that even the traits, which are most freely sketched, rest upon a correct view of the whole matter; and indeed the same incidents in various traditions coincide strangely. We learn from them of an apparition which, although visible to sight and holding intercourse with men in a human way, is not bound by the conditions of an earthly existence. This is in truth a corporality which is not entirely that of an inhabitant of earth; there is a Docetic trait in it of which Jesus' earlier earthly life does not show a trace.[1]

This leads modern criticism to suppose that it is quite justified in explaining these appearances by visions. In the case of the disciples, we are told they produced faith in Jesus' resurrection, causing it to assume for them the reality of a fact attested by their own experience. We shall not speak of those who believe they can explain these appearances by a condition of intense nervous and mental agitation,[2] for that

[1] At least the only instances in that life to which any one could appeal would be His walking upon the sea, and His transfiguration upon the mountain. But we have already seen that these events first took the character they now possess when the ideas of men had been affected by the view of the exalted Christ.

[2] In this sense Renan thought it worthy of attention that the first person to whom we are told Christ appeared, was that Mary Magdalene (John xx. 14)

faith of the disciples was world-conquering, and can be as little explained by deceptions of the senses and morbid excitement as by deceit and falsehood. And, moreover, it is forgotten that the disciples can scarcely have given way to any such fanciful state of mind, for they had been trained under the discipline of Jesus' walk and conversation, and through grievous disappointments had long indulged in hopes which seemed at last to be bitterly disappointed. But, indeed, looked at historically, it seems impossible to understand how a faith, which arose out of visionary ecstasies, could produce, after the few weeks when they entirely ceased, that modest and active spirit, with its zeal for the law and its readiness to suffer, which undeniably characterized the oldest Christian Church. Attempts have recently been made to prove that, after their great undeception by Jesus' death as a malefactor, the disciples gradually succeeded, either by their own reflections or by investigations in the Scripture, in bringing this fact somewhat more into unison with their faith in His Messiahship, and in explaining the contradiction between the two by the assumption of His resurrection. We are told how at last the firm conviction that such had taken place, created in a vision, by a natural psychological process, an attestation of it which, with the power of a personal experience, gave the accepted fact of the resurrection the perfect assurance of a reality.

This attempt to explain the rise of these visions which led to the belief in Jesus' resurrection contains a manifest contradiction, in so far as the faith generated by these visions is in some way always used in this explanation. If this belief arose from the necessity of accommodating the fact of Jesus' death with the assumption of His Messiahship, then, according to the nature of such a conviction, it forms the contrast to that incommunicability of the consciousness in which an assumption, which seems to explain the doubts of a struggling

out of whom, according to Luke viii. 2, seven devils were driven; in accordance with the modern view of demoniacal possession, he explains this by a high degree of nervous and mental disease which presented the very disposition to a sickly and visionary condition. Attempts have been made to prove such visionary foundations, even in the case of the apostles, and we find people referring to the fact that in times of religious excitement such conditions are often contagious and affect great numbers.

spirit, is by reason of a visionary appearance regarded as a fact.[1] More than all, however, this view is founded upon the perfectly mistaken idea that the disciples could remove the difficulty which Jesus' death presented to their faith by the postulate of His resurrection in the body. Many people still labour under a great mistake regarding the state of the disciples after Jesus' death. Apologists like to describe their disheartened condition, destitute both of hope and faith, in order to postulate as historically necessary the fact of the resurrection as the only thing which can explain their change to joy. But surely such expounders must doubt the effectual power of the word of Jesus, and the existence in the disciples of any capacity for apprehension, when they suppose that they whom Jesus for at least three-quarters of a year had been preparing for this very event, and had especially endeavoured to convince them of its necessity for salvation, should now suddenly give up all belief in Him. If formerly they had failed to understand the allusion to His death because they could not conceive of such a termination as this, now the fact lay before them not *in spite of* what Jesus had said concerning His Messiahship, but *in conformity with* what He had told them of the necessity there was for the Messiah to suffer. This could not possibly overturn their belief in His Messiahship. The terrible blow might crush them momentarily, or make their faith waver (Mark xiv. 27), but recollecting what Jesus had told them they must have recovered themselves speedily (John xiii. 19, xiv. 29). In the present day it is acknowledged by even the most negative criticism that Jesus believed in and promised His heavenly exaltation and His return (comp. p. 88). But then it is said faith in this promise was quite sufficient for explaining the apparent contradiction between the death of Jesus and His Messianic destiny; and such belief had no need for assuming a bodily resurrection.

But if this origination of the assumption entertained by

[1] Strauss declares that that conviction had no logical basis, and was not founded upon a clear course of thought, but that that change was suddenly consummated in the profoundest depths of the spirit. In doing this he only describes a psychological phenomenon which might take the form of a vision, but he gives up the explanation of its having originated in an assumption of the dogmatic necessity of Jesus' resurrection.

the disciples could be shown to be credible in any conceivable way, yet for that a longer time was needed, and even a more considerable distance from the scene of the events, the impression made by which being thereby gradually overcome. On this account modern criticism supposes, though without any proof or any apparent *motive*, that immediately after the arrest of the Master the disciples fled to Galilee; and there, where surrounded by recollections of what Jesus had been to them, that change is said to have been gradually completed which closed with the conviction of Jesus' resurrection, which was sealed by the visions. The Gospels, however, represent Jesus as appearing in Jerusalem upon Easter Sunday; and only on the ground of the fact that appearances occurred on that day can the tradition have arisen that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day, to which Paul refers (1 Cor. xv. 4), and which probably led even in the apostolic times to the observance of the Christian Sabbath (Rom. i. 10; comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 2).[1] The way in which Paul refers to the tradition of the appearance to Cephas and the Twelve (1 Cor. xv. 5) seems to indicate that these appearances were used to establish the fact of the resurrection on the third day. But then it is evident that every attempt must fail to explain how the visions beheld at Jesus' new-made grave could have arisen in any naturally psychological way.

If it be assumed that these appearances were really visions, they cannot have been produced by any natural psychological process. Recently they have been regarded as divinely produced, or have been explained by spiritual demonstrations of the Christ whose life was continued in heaven. That oldest mystico-magical form, in which this idea was first propounded

[1] Strauss, it is true, supposed that the third day was only inferred from dogmatic reasons. It was necessary that Christ should be raised as soon as possible in order to show victory over death. It was therefore determined to keep Him in the sepulchre over the Sabbath, and on the third day—a proverbial term for a short interval (Hosea vi. 2)—to allow Him to arise. If people only knew of visions which occurred in Galilee at a much later date, these considerations were certainly not weighty enough to allow any one to suppose that Jesus had risen for some time before showing Himself to His followers. And besides, the very re-formation of the oldest recorded form of Jesus' prediction, which only speaks of a resurrection *after* three days, clearly shows from its reference to the third day (comp. p. 76, note) that something must have occurred then which renders impossible the assumption of a later resurrection.

by Weisse, and which always seemed to have something ghostly about it, has been given up even by its originator. In the heat of controverting the vision hypothesis it is often overlooked that in itself this form is perfectly compatible with the actuality of the resurrection. Particularly if Jesus, as we must assume, predicted His resurrection to the disciples, they might very probably be convinced of its occurrence by a vision divinely produced. Indeed, we have seen repeatedly that such a vision may have all the power of an event confirmed by personal experience in producing certainty of a supersensuous fact. But such a perception of the exalted Christ as even this form of the hypothesis can alone assume, could not possibly produce such an idea of a bodily rising from the dead as the disciples understood when they proclaimed the resurrection of Jesus. It could only convince them of Jesus' continued existence in the other world as He Himself had promised (Mark xii. 36, xiv. 62), and at the same time be a pledge of His return, like the vision upon the mount of transfiguration (comp. Book V. chap. ix.). But it is opposed to all historical facts to assume that the disciples supposed Jesus' heavenly existence to be nothing more than a glorified corporality. The whole idea of His rising to celestial life in such a form was absolutely strange to an age which only knew of a reawakening to earthly life, or of the continuous existence of the soul beyond the grave (comp. vol. ii. p. 365 f.); there was no general apprehension of such a resurrection as Jesus thought of and promised. For that reason the disciples had not been able to enter into His allusion to the resurrection (comp. p. 78), and therefore neither the remembrance of the promise nor the appearance in a vision of the exalted Christ could convince them of His having risen again. Only the actual conviction of Jesus' bodily resurrection could produce an idea so foreign to their time as that Jesus' existence in heaven was in a glorified corporality — an idea which became the foundation of the Christian hope of resurrection.

But the idea of these appearances being mere visions is contradicted by the whole of our evangelic tradition. It is not merely a form which the disciples behold, and a voice

that they hear; Jesus walks with them, sits down with them at table, breaks the bread and distributes it (Luke xxiv. 30; John xxi. 13). He shows His hands and His sides, and offers to allow His wounds to be touched (John xx. 20–27); some desire to touch Him (John xx. 17; Matt. xxviii. 9), and others urge Him vainly to remain with them (Luke xxiv. 29).[1] If any reminiscence or historical tradition lies at the basis of the incidents, then Jesus did show Himself in an earthly corporality to His disciples. But the fact is apparent that even the disciples did not infer from this that Jesus had returned to earthly existence, for certain traits in His appearances showed that to be impossible (comp. p. 385);[2] they believe in His resurrection to celestial life, which does not presuppose the resumption of an earthly body, but the transformation of it into a glorified one. The disciples themselves have said that the heavenly body bestowed at

[1] It may be that the account given by Luke, in which Jesus affirms He has flesh and bones, and calls upon the disciples to handle Him, and where He asks to eat and partakes of food before them (Luke xxiv. 39–43), rather belongs to the later idea of the way in which they convinced themselves that this was no mere ghostly appearance (xxiv. 37), for even in the Johannine account there is no express mention of Jesus partaking of food (John xxi. 5, 13). This idea is a proof that in the traditions of Jesus' appearances, incidents were preserved which seemed to call for amplification. But it is perfectly arbitrary to say that because Paul gives no details of these appearances, but only points to them as witnesses of Christ's resurrection, they must be altogether later embellishments. It is hardly possible to understand how legend, if it only formed these details in order to give greater force to the idea that Jesus did not appear in a form of celestial light, but in the same bodily corporality with which He had risen from the grave, could also form such incidents as are incompatible with a usual material form (comp. p. 385), and which do not entirely agree with either of the two conceptions. For the fact of Jesus not being recognised at once seems hardly compatible with an appearance in a vision, which, according to the nature of the case, discloses at the same time the significance, or with the return of one to earthly life who has been roused from the dead. And if the references to doubt overcome (Matt. xxviii. 17; Luke xxiv. 41; John xx. 25) should only affirm the existence of the doubts which these narratives are invented to allay, we have not then to do with fabulous amplifications of visions which have produced a high degree of certainty regarding what is beheld, but with pure deceptions actuated by a certain tendency. This was felt to be the case by Strauss himself, and in regard to these details he therefore held in reserve the plain "natural" explanation with all its self-deceptions and mistakes.

[2] Even if Luke thought that the disciples had convinced themselves of the identity of Jesus' corporeity with His earthly one (see previous note), he had not himself been an eye-witness of these appearances.

the resurrection could not, in accordance with its nature, be exhibited to the senses, that therefore the corporeity in which Jesus appeared to them was only a sign and testimony of His having quitted the grave bodily (John xx. 30; Acts i. 3); the identity of Him who had appeared with the Crucified One, and therefore the certainty of His resurrection, was assured to them by the only way in which it could be manifested to the senses. The idea which has hitherto been employed to unite the discriminating tokens of these appearances, viz. that Jesus' corporality was in process of glorification, is quite intangible and contradictory; for there can never be a passage between the mutually exclusive contrasts of a material and a celestially-glorified body. There is not a trace in our reports of any progress in this process of development. But as the appearances of Jesus were the actual cause of the disciples believing in His resurrection, they have with perfect justice apprehended them as being merely extraordinary proofs of the fact that He had come forth from the grave in the body, without assuming the identity of His present form with His earlier one. Their idea is rather that He, who was awakened to life in the earthly body, rose to heavenly life through the unique divine miracle of the glorification of His corporality.

We possess another guarantee of the fact of the resurrection in the tradition which tells how Jesus' grave was found empty on Easter morning. This fact is attested by Mark, by Luke's source (xxiv. 22 f.), and by John. It certainly places insuperable difficulties in the way of explaining the resurrection by the fact of Jesus' continued existence in the other world being attested by visions, and to remove those criticism has represented Peter as fleeing to Galilee from the high priest's palace, while the other disciples escaped directly from Gethsemane. We know, however, that they were in no danger so long as they remained concealed (comp. John xx. 19, 26), and had really nothing to fear in Jerusalem after the hierarchy had once secured their victim.[1] No doubt John is right

1 It is characteristic of the inconsequence of that modern criticism which pronounces the Fourth Gospel to be absolutely unhistorical, that it constantly quotes as the only proof of this most improbable and uncalled-for flight on the part of the disciples, the words of Jesus given in John xvi. 32—words which

when he says that they remained quietly in Jerusalem until the feast was over (John xx. 26), and then accompanied the other pilgrims back to their Galilean homes. But even the entire removal of the disciples only gets rid of Peter and John's visit to the grave, of which the Fourth Gospel tells, while if what the Galilean women tell of the event at the crucifixion be accepted without examination, it is simple arbitrariness to reject the oldest account of their experiences on Easter morn. People may think as they like about the angels whom they are said to have beheld there; but the fact that they rolled away the stone and found the grave empty cannot now be called dubious, because the women there received a special revelation as to the resurrection of the Crucified One, which laid upon them the duty of announcing to the disciples His speedy reappearance (Mark xvi. 1–7). We know from the history of the nativity that men believed such revelations were made through the appearances of angels; and it is involved in the nature of the case that such apparitions were variously described (comp. Matt. xxviii. 2, 5; Luke xxiv. 4). It can of course neither be assumed nor disputed that the women actually beheld a "vision of angels" (Luke xxiv. 23), which made them certain of Jesus' resurrection; what is said of the message conveyed by the angels is really only a reminiscence of some words of Jesus (Mark xiv. 28) whose fulfilment now seemed to be assured. According to the oldest tradition, in the first excitement the women did not perform the duty laid upon them by this divine revelation (Mark xvi. 8), although that seemed scarcely credible to the redactors of Mark (Matt. xxviii. 8; Luke xxiv. 9); but this does not preclude the possibility of their speaking of it afterwards (Luke xxiv. 22 f.).[1]

plainly related to the final catastrophe, the details of which Jesus could not possibly have predicted unless He possessed divine omniscience. On the other hand, some have appealed to Mark xiv. 28 in order not to be obliged to admit that Jesus made direct allusion to His resurrection, although it is clear that the same presupposition is present here.

[1] It must have been owing to the intention of representing this narrative to be incredible that criticism grew animated over the endless contradictions in our reports, though they are not really different in the other redactions of Mark by the later evangelists. It can only be gathered from an impossible explanation of his undoubtedly strange expression that the first evangelist transferred the coming to the sepulchre to the Sabbath evening (Matt. xxviii. 1); we cannot

But without the appearance of angels, which is so offensive to criticism, we have in the Fourth Gospel the simple fact that early on Sabbath morning Mary Magdalene came to the grave and found it open and empty. It is evident from the account she gives Peter and John, that she had been at the grave with other women, just as the oldest tradition told, but hastened away before they received the revelation; she complains that *she* did not know where the body of Jesus had been laid (John xx. 1 f.). It was natural, of course, that this intelligence should induce the disciples to hasten to the grave. The younger John hurries forward, for expectation lends him wings; but it is the more resolute Peter who first ventures to do what will decide whether the hopes excited by Mary rest upon a delusion or not. Ultimately, however, both are convinced that the grave-clothes are carefully laid aside along with the napkin which had been about the head. There is no doubt, therefore, that the corpse has not been stolen away; He who was roused to life has quietly released Himself from these garments. After this the two disciples had no need of a divine revelation or an appearance of angels. Although they did not then know that even according to the Scripture the Messiah must rise again,—which is a fresh proof that belief in the resurrection did not arise from constant study of the Scriptures,—at the empty grave they attained to belief in Jesus' resurrection, which indeed could only happen now if Jesus had predicted it (John xx. 3–10).[1]

For those who acknowledge the Gospel of John this incident presents no occasion for disputing the fact of the empty grave. Those who think it impossible to assume an actual resurrection, must leave the questions undecided why

know why the third Gospel replaces Salome by Joanna and other women, while the first omits them altogether (Matt. xxviii. 1; Luke xxiv. 10; comp. Mark xvi. 1); in any case, all three mention Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses as being those who went to the grave. It is evident, however, that the mention of the angels in the Fourth Gospel (John xx. 12 f.) is a reminiscence of the older tradition—of that of Luke's, for it also speaks of two angels (Luke xxiv. 4)—which there seems to be introduced in a wrong place. The old "natural" explanation, of course, makes the angels out to be Essene friends of Jesus robed in white garments.

[1] No doubt modern criticism sees in this lifelike scene only another "tendency" fiction, exhibiting a competition between the head of the Jewish-

and by whom the body was removed. The robbery could not be attributed to Jesus' enemies, for much against their will they had been the cause why He whom they had crucified rose again in the hearts of the disciples. It was therefore alleged that the interment in Joseph's tomb was only provisional, that the distinguished friends of Jesus, who had cared for His burial, had no close connection with the Church, so that no one knew the reason why the body was carried away. In that case, therefore, the whole bearing of the empty grave upon the resurrection must have been caused by a strange accident, and an inexplicable silence on the part of Jesus' friends; indeed the truth is, that it is hardly possible to remove the suspicion that this silence was intended to give rise to the idea of the resurrection. This revolting hypothesis was surely not needed by the radical criticism which rejected the Gospel of John, and referred the whole legend of the vacant tomb to a deduction from the fact of the appearances of Christ, which, from Jewish presuppositions, could not be explained without an empty grave. We have already seen on what false presuppositions the assumption of such a deduction rests; but however that may be, the circumstances of this occurrence were not such as would allow phantasy free scope in rendering assistance to faith. He, of whose resurrection people began to tell, had been executed by the hierarchy as a criminal; and it could not have been entirely a matter of indifference to the priests if, under the pretext that Jesus had arisen, and that this resurrection was the last and greatest attestation of His Messiahship, the Messianic agitation should be revived which they supposed had received the death-blow in its head. This hierarchy had to be reckoned with if appeal was made for the assertion of the resurrection to the empty grave, merely because they had neglected to procure exact information as to removal of the body. No doubt, however, the hierarchy

Christians and the beloved disciple of the Fourth Gospel, in order to show how the latter triumphed by first attaining to belief in the resurrection (John xx. 8). But the confirmation in ver. 9 shows that even if this faith was first given expression to by John, yet Peter arrived at it along with him. Moreover, Luke's source testifies that other followers of Jesus found the sepulchre empty on that Easter morning (xxiv. 24), although the preparation for this incident by Luke himself (xxiv. 12) is not a little suspicious.

would inspect the grave so as to disclose any such deceit, if such there was, and prevent the further deception of the people thereby.[1]

Here, however, we have not to deal with suppositions, but with an historical fact. We know from the first Gospel that official currency was given to the report that the disciples had stolen the body by night in order to be able to say that their Master had risen (Matt. xxviii. 12–15). We can still see the evangelist's irritation at the leaders of the people, because they endeavoured to paralyse, by this last great deception, the impression made by the resurrection, and so were involved in the guilt which was the people's ruin (vol. i. p. 67). At the time when the evangelist wrote, the success of the rulers in procuring credence for this shameful falsehood could only be explained by their having issued a timely order that the grave should be guarded by Roman soldiers, and, when these announced the true course of events, by their bribing them to explain in this way how it was that the grave had been found empty (Matt. xxviii. 11 ff.). No doubt this assumption presents strong internal improbabilities, but it is absolutely precluded by the fact that the oldest tradition knows nothing of such a watch by the grave (comp. p. 380 f.). The mere fact of means being taken to spread such a report is itself the most convincing proof that Jesus' body really disappeared from the sepulchre, and that at a time when the matter might still have been explained, the cause of this disappearance had become a subject of controversy. We are therefore reduced to the dilemma that either the Jews, as the writer of the Wolfenbüttel fragments assumed, or else the followers of Jesus, were right, who found the grave empty that Easter morning, and explained the circumstance by the resurrection of Jesus.

[1] The replies of criticism to this instance, for them so suspicious, are more than ingenuous. We are told that even when Herod began to fear that Jesus might be the risen Baptist, he did not permit the grave of John to be inspected; and besides, that the Jews shunned the defilement of the dead and the contamination of the grave, while the rolling away of the *golal* was forbidden them. Finally, we are told that the tidings of Jesus' resurrection and of the empty grave may have reached the hierarchy so late that the body could no longer be recognised,—an assertion which is negatived by the never-varying statement that the resurrection took place upon the third day.

The criticism, which looks upon the story of the resurrection as a tissue of legends, owes an explanation as to how it happened that the evangelic legend has omitted to make use of this most grateful theme, how it has not described Jesus rising again and His victorious coming forth from the grave. Even the first evangelist, who thinks of the Roman watch being present, describes how it was during an earthquake that the angel appeared to the women and rolled the stone from the grave, and how the watchers, terrified by His shining appearance, were seized by a deathlike numbness (Matt. xxviii. 2–4). He does not describe the resurrection of Jesus; and Dogmatic used to dispute whether Jesus' resurrection was from an open grave or a closed one. The Gospels observe a refined reticence in concealing the secret of that divine miracle in the dawn of the Easter morn, which is revealed to the eye of faith. History can only testify that the sepulchre was found open and empty, and that He who had risen appeared in bodily presence to His own.

CHAPTER XI.

ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN.

WHILE contending with the Sadducees, Jesus declared expressly that those who rose from the dead would become inhabitants of heaven like the angels of God (Mark xii. 25). It is involved in the nature of the case, that a resurrection with a glorified body, destined not for earthly but for heavenly life, necessitates an immediate removal to the new order of things, which is described as heaven in opposition to the earthly life. Jesus predicted His elevation to the right hand of God as well as His resurrection; but He never intimated that there would be any need of a special miracle to remove Him from earth to heaven. Indeed, in John's Gospel He constantly speaks of returning home to His Father after death, without signifying that anything else was necessary for this than the restoration of life at the resurrection (John x. 17 f.). In Luke's source also He speaks of His entrance to glory as the immediate result of His death (Luke xxiv. 26). According to the oldest apostolic source, the exaltation of Jesus by the miraculous interposition of God was a direct consequence of the resurrection (Acts ii. 33 f., v. 31; comp. 1 Pet. iii. 22); and Paul makes no distinction between the Christ who ascended up into heaven and appeared to himself, and Him who arose from the dead and appeared to the original apostles.[1] If Jesus rose from the dead, as Paul and the apostles understood the term,—for they were

[1] This is the only explanation which can be given why he, who regarded the resurrection as the basis of salvation, only once mentions Jesus sitting at the right hand of God, as if the two facts were, as a matter of course, inseparably connected (Rom. viii. 34); while, on the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews, following out its fundamental consideration of that high-priesthood of Christ, speaks everywhere of the entrance of Jesus into the heavenly sanctuary, and only once mentions His resurrection (xiii. 20), which appears to be taken for granted from the first.

far from thinking of a temporary return to earthly life,—then He was raised up into heaven exactly at the time of His resurrection; and there was no need of any special means of transition. It was not unnatural, however, to add to the period of His efficacy on earth that time in which He appeared to His disciples, and by His appearances perfected the work of His earthly life, and not to regard Him as having ascended to heaven till these appearances ceased. The words of Jesus Himself have given justification for this view, and probably, as we shall see, designedly so. In truth, however, all His appearances are those of one who has been exalted to God, and no longer pertains to this earth, although He has adopted an earthly body to effect these apparitions.

Easter morn was but dawning when Jesus first appeared to the weeping Mary Magdalene by the empty grave. At first she does not recognise Him, but takes Him for the gardener, whom she supposes to be the most likely person to appear in the garden at this early hour, and questions Him regarding the resting-place of Jesus' body. Not till He mentions her by name does she recognise Him; but when she hastens to greet Him by grasping His hand as in former times, Jesus forbids it; He has not come to renew the old human intimacy with His followers, but is *on the point* of returning home to His Father, and He sends her away to His disciples with a message, which she delivers to them (John xx. 11–18). Here Jesus Himself describes the time of His appearances as a transition period, introductory to His definite departure from the earth, but not as a time in which He must belong temporarily to the earth again, till the hour of His return to His Father be come. It must not be supposed that He was therefore obliged to adopt a corporeal transition state. For even when it has been cited as a proof of this that Mary did not recognise Him, it is impossible to understand how a body in process of transfiguration could resemble that of a common gardener.[1]

[1] It is quite arbitrary to assume that the fourth evangelist inferred that the ascension to heaven took place on Easter morning, and that when Christ appeared to the disciples in the evening it was a heavenly apparition, for he never describes this appearance to the disciples as being of a totally different nature. A reminiscence

A second appearance, which, according to Luke's source, occurred late in the afternoon of Easter-day, was not made to any of the twelve, but to two disciples from Judea, who seem to have lived some eight miles from Jerusalem in the little village of Emmaus, and of whom one only, Cleopas, *i.e.* Cleopater, is named (Luke xxiv. 13, xviii. 21, 28 f.). Deep in sad conversation over late events, they do not recognise the traveller who has joined them, and they tell Him how they had expected the redemption of Israel from the great prophet of Nazareth, who has just been crucified by the rulers. They appear to have heard something of certain prophecies, according to which there would be a change in His fate after three days, but as yet these have not been fulfilled; for no confirmation has been given to the angelic tidings that He was alive, which certain women said that they had heard by the empty grave. Their companion then rebukes their unbelief of Old Testament prophecy, which He points out to them announced that the Messiah would enter into His glory by suffering. At their request He enters their house; but it is not till He breaks bread and gives thanks at supper, as they have often seen Him do while presiding over His followers, that their eyes are opened, and they become aware how it is that His words have affected them so marvellously. Suddenly He vanishes out of their sight (Luke xxiv. 13–32).[1]

of this story is not only to be found in the unauthentic conclusion of Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9 f.), but, although the appearance is supposed to have been made to the two Marys, it is referred to unmistakeably by the first Gospel (Matt. xxviii. 9 f.). From the context of xxviii. 7, this is the only explanation of the purposeless repetition of the commission to the disciples; probably, too, the commission given by the angel at the open grave (Mark xvi. 7) is only a reminiscence of that which was here given to Mary by Him who had risen from the dead.

[1] The unauthentic conclusion of Mark has also preserved a faded memory of this incident (Mark xvi. 12 f.), according to which the non-recognition by the disciples is attributed to Jesus' adoption of another form. The vivid account which fixes time and place so minutely, and is founded on the experience of two quite unknown men, is nevertheless so opposed to any mythical explanation, or to any speculation as to its mere invention, that even Strauss was inclined to resort to a natural explanation. The very way in which xxiv. 24 refers to the visit of the disciples to the grave, which was not before mentioned by Luke, shows that it was derived in its entirety from his source. On the other hand, the way in which xxiv. 33–35 is connected with the appearance on Easter evening, might appertain to the evangelist himself, seeing that the latter

The oldest tradition appears either to have known nothing of these two appearances, or to have attached less importance to them, as its principal aim was to ascertain the apostolic guarantee of the rising of Jesus from the dead. Paul has testified that constant reference was made to an appearance to Peter, about which we have no more exact information, although Luke alludes to it (xxiv. 34), and probably Mark also in his version of the angel's message (xvi. 7); we find reference made also to an appearance before the chosen disciples. According to Paul, both of these must have taken place on the third day, for he records them as confirmatory of Jesus' resurrection having occurred on that day (1 Cor. xv. 4 f.). It is not improbable that when Jesus appeared to Peter, He bade him summon the disciples to assemble together on Easter evening. And because this was the first time the disciples of Jesus had come together again in that capacity, there was cause to fear hostile proceedings on the part of the Sanhedrin, and that apprehension led them to meet with closed doors. Jesus appears, addresses the disciples with the customary greeting of peace, and convinces them of His identity by showing them His hands and His side. He then commissions the delighted disciples to continue His work, and by the symbolical action of breathing on them, gives them the assurance that in fulfilling their calling they will never lack the Spirit, who had enabled Him to accomplish the work committed unto Him (John xx. 19–22).[1]

appearance could scarcely occur so late as to give the two disciples time to return to Jerusalem, and that, according to John, it was only to the smallest band of disciples that Jesus then appeared (John xx. 21).

[1] In no case, as has been recently maintained, has the evangelist endeavoured to establish the fulfilment of the prophecy regarding the Paraclete in Jesus' farewell discourses by means of Him who had meanwhile ascended to heaven. There the Paraclete ever appears as the substitute of Christ, thus presupposing His definite separation from the disciples, to whom Jesus again appears after eight days. There the Spirit is not, as here, imparted by Christ Himself, but is sent by the Father in answer to His intercession; and that bestowal is not connected with the sending out of the disciples, but with confirmation of discipleship. There, it actually effects the growth of believers in the knowledge of Christ; whilst here, the breathing serves to fortify the disciples in accomplishing their commission (comp. John xvii. 22), as John shows by combining with it full power to forgive sins (Matt. xviii. 8; John xx. 23), probably meaning that the Spirit would render them capable of distinguishing between

We do not know for what reason Thomas was absent from the apostolic circle on Easter evening. But when he heard that the Lord Himself had been seen, he refused to believe till he had convinced himself of Jesus' resurrection by touching the scars of His wounds. Of the fulfilment of the highest hope he desired the most certain proof, so that he might not be ultimately disappointed. After eight days have passed, Jesus again appears to the apostles and offers the doubting disciple the proof he had demanded, that he might not lose faith. It is not related that Thomas still desired the proof; indeed, the appearance of Jesus and the premonition which he felt of the approach of the Searcher of hearts seem to have overcome him; and his present recognition was as joyous as his former faith had been tardy, when he addressed Him, who had been approved by His resurrection, as his divine Lord. But Jesus reminds him that he must learn to believe without seeing (John xx. 24–29). Certainly the evangelist concludes ingeniously with this triumphant destruction of the last doubt of Thomas by his confession of that faith he himself wishes to establish by his Gospel, and with the indication that this faith must be contented with the testimony of the eye-witnesses recorded by the Gospel; it follows from this, however, that the record of this appearance was designedly chosen from a large number of similar ones (xx. 30). The suspicion that such narratives only record the reminiscence of how

venial sins and sins unto death (comp. 1 John v. 16). Luke in xxiv. 36 ff. evidently intends to narrate the same appearance of Jesus. But apart from the fact that there the disciples from Emmaus are introduced (see previous note), the record of this incident appears to have been obscured in many ways. Thence the scarcely credible unbelief of the disciples, who think that they see a spirit, and have to be convinced of Jesus' corporeal existence by contact with Him and by seeing Him eat before them (xxiv. 37–43); thence the indoctrinating into the meaning of the prophetic Scriptures, which is apparently an echo of the story of the disciples from Emmaus (xxiv. 26 f.; comp. vv. 44–47); thence the connection of their mission with an express intimation of the pouring out of the Spirit at Pentecost, which they were to await in Jerusalem (xxiv. 48 f.). On the other hand, the reference to the forgiveness of sins, which is so frequent in Luke (xxiv. 47), has certainly nothing to do with John xx. 23. This appearance is also mentioned in the conclusion of Mark's Gospel, but only to record that the disciples were rebuked on account of the unbelief they manifested on receiving the message of Mary Magdalene, in contradistinction with the two travellers; it then concludes with the commission according to Matt. xxviii. 19 f. (Mark xvi. 14–18; comp. vv. 11, 13).

faith in the resurrection and appearances of Jesus gradually struggled through many doubts, has been set at nought by showing that this reminiscence would certainly offer no motive for free inventions if the latter did not try to afford new proofs of the doubted fact, and that could not be accomplished by simply reiterating that Jesus had appeared. From an opposite point of view we shall see in the older Gospels references to doubts and manifestations of unbelief on the part of the apostles (Luke xxiv. 37 f., 41; Matt. xxviii. 17) which are made specially prominent by Mark (xvi. 11–13), but we shall find that these are only reminiscences of the story of Thomas generalized in the usual manner of tradition.[1]

Criticism, indeed, has seen fit to declare that all these appearances in Jerusalem are quite unauthenticated, because the oldest tradition only knew of those in Galilee. It thereupon proceeds to find the *motive* for their invention, partly in the desire to give a denial to the somewhat dishonourable flight of the disciples, and partly in the desire to make more direct use of the empty grave as a proof of the resurrection, by removing the scene of the appearances to Jerusalem. But the oldest of our Gospels relates no appearance of the Risen One whatever, and concludes with the message of the angel by the empty grave (Mark xvi. 1–18), for all suppositions regarding the form of that conclusion to Mark's Gospel, which is said to have been lost, are fanciful creations. Criticism can the less appeal to the real conclusion, because in it there can only be found an excuse for the alleged flight of the disciples in the command of the angel (Mark xvi. 7).

[1] We might feel inclined to think that Paul mentioned this appearance in 1 Cor. xv. 7, when he spoke of Jesus being seen again of all the apostles. But his object does not appear to have been to show that one was absent from the apostolic circle, but rather to include James, the Lord's brother, whom Paul also placed on a footing of equality with the apostles in Gal. i. 19, and of whom he has just mentioned that Jesus was also seen of him. Our Gospels say nothing about this appearance, which evidently produced faith in the brother of the Lord, who had been unbelieving till then; and on that account it is both arbitrary and unwarranted to try and reduce the appearances narrated in the Gospels to those which are mentioned by Paul, or to declare that the five, which are specified by him, were the only ones which have been historically authenticated, and that all the others narrated in the Gospels may be relegated to the region of legend.

In truth, however, this is merely a reference to some warning words of Jesus (Mark xiv. 27 f.), in view of which the disciples showed themselves, amid the less threatening circumstances of the catastrophe, to be more constant than Jesus had dared to hope. But when Mark concludes by saying expressly that the women did not deliver their message (Mark xvi. 8), it is evident that he does not mean that the disciples, in accordance with that direction, went to Galilee to see the Lord there, but that events soon occurred which made that unnecessary; and these events were the appearances at Jerusalem, with which we may safely reckon those on the third day, mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 5).[1]

After the feast, the disciples of course returned home. Jesus then must also have appeared in Galilee, for it is mere caprice to limit the time for all the appearances to a few days, and to set aside the declaration that they continued during forty days (Acts i. 3), which assuredly approximates to the real period, even although it is expressed by that round number which was so significant in holy writ (comp. vol. i. p. 338). There is no doubt that this is indicated by the way in which the first evangelist transfers his general picture of these appearances (see previous note) to Galilee; and it is very probable that Jesus was seen of the disciples (comp. Matt. xxviii. 16) on that very mountain-height where He had formerly delivered His great sermon (Book III. chap. x.). This was, too, most likely the very event which was referred to by Paul as taking place before 500 brethren, and regarding which no one can hold

[1] We cannot, indeed, appeal to the first Gospel, even if, in spite of all critical evidence, we consider it to be of prior origin to Mark, because at least one appearance of Jesus to the women returning from the grave is there recorded (Matt. xxviii. 9 f.), and because the only Galilean appearance described there is evidently not a record of a single one, but, as is more and more generally acknowledged at the present day, is a comprehensive representation of the appearances of the exalted Christ (Matt. xvi. 20). When He who is seen by them describes Himself as having all power in heaven and in earth given unto Him (xxviii. 18), according to the view taken in the Gospels, that only confirmed anew that He who is appearing to the disciples is elevated to God's right hand, *i.e.* He is participating in the government of the world by virtue of His removal to the life of heaven, and therefore His ascension and resurrection were actually simultaneous.

it to have been a mere vision, for Paul had undoubtedly spoken to many of the witnesses, who were still alive in his time (1 Cor. xv. 6). The supplement to John's Gospel also tells how Jesus showed Himself to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias (John xxi. 1). From that we learn that the disciples had meanwhile returned to their work, for although they had been called anew on Easter evening to the service of Jesus, they were constrained to wait for a sign from Him as to when and where they should begin. At least we find the sons of Zebedee, Thomas, Nathanael, and two other of the disciples busy fishing under Peter's guidance (xxi. 2 f.). After vainly watching through the night, they see Jesus standing by the shore in the morning, but do not recognise Him, and it is not till He has commanded them to cast the net to the right, which secures them a superabundant draught, that the beloved disciple knows who it is, and tells Peter, who at once casts himself into the sea, to be the first to reach Jesus. When the rest land, with difficulty dragging the net to the neighbouring shore, Peter has already kindled a fire of coals, and procured the necessary articles for the morning meal. Jesus tells them to supplement it from the draught of fishes, which has been safely landed in spite of its weight, and in regard to the distribution of which Jesus exercises the old paternal authority, whilst the disciples, with timid reverence, do not dare to ask who He is, but recognise Him without asking (xxiv. 4–13).[1]

The principal reason why tradition preserved this narrative was to recount a conversation which Jesus had afterwards with Peter. By His thrice-repeated question, if he love Him, He gently reminds the disciple who has fallen so low of his thrice-repeated denial. Not in the old self-confident way does Peter confess his love; he merely appeals to the

[1] All those who find it incredible that God should grant the disciples a miraculous draught of fishes, and that Jesus should know about it, must of course regard as a pure invention the story which is related sketchily though suggestively, but gives very few details. Certainly the search after the miraculous has always succeeded in producing much that is mysterious, and there are old Fathers of the Church and expounders of a later age, like Hengstenberg, who vie with modern criticism in trying to discover in the number of fishes mentioned in xxi. 11 the most extravagant fancy, although the exact rendering of the number and names of the disciples, and the number of

knowledge the Searcher of hearts has of him. Jesus again instals him into the office of chief shepherd, which had been entrusted to him at Cæsarea Philippi, and which he had so sadly forfeited (xxi. 15–17). To this was added a prophecy which announced to the energetic disciple that he should one day be dragged in chains before councils. Peter, not yet quite free from forwardness, asks what shall become of John, who has been following behind the two so earnestly engaged in conversation. Jesus refuses to tell him, saying that He may possibly have decreed that the beloved disciple shall live to witness the second coming (xxi. 18–22). As the words to Peter were afterwards understood to have been an indication of his crucifixion, the hypothetical utterance regarding John was also understood positively, and it was therefore expected that this disciple would not die (xxi. 23).

It is quite evident, however, that only that part of the conversation between Jesus and the two disciples has been preserved which had any importance for a subsequent time; and it is matter of fact that the renewed endowment of Peter with his office of trust, and that prophecy concerning his martyrdom, must have been conjoined with counsels for the beginning of the actual fulfilment of their calling. We know that the apostles began their work at Jerusalem; Jesus must have counselled them, during this appearance, to do so, because only a direct command from Him could have induced them to go where the hostile attitude of the Sanhedrin rendered dangerous any public advocacy of the Crucified One. It is evident, therefore, that Jesus would refer to the readiness for any sacrifice which might be necessary for fulfilling their commission, and this would lead Him to put those searching questions as to Peter's love for Him, and to predict his fate.

cubits which they were distant from the shore (xxi. 8), shows the same recollection of details. Luke's application of this tradition (comp. vol. ii. p. 57) is a sufficient guarantee for its authenticity; and so, too, the statement that Jesus ate of some broiled fish, of which nothing is said here (Luke xxiv. 41–43), may be another reminiscence of the same story. It is somewhat improbable, and scarcely consistent with John xx. 30, to imagine, as the author of the supplement seems to have done, that this was really only the third appearance of Jesus before the chosen disciples (xxi. 14); at any rate he did not know of any others.

It is stated in the Acts of the Apostles (i. 13–26) that it was while the disciples were assembled in Jerusalem before the feast of Pentecost, that Peter and the other apostles made their first public appearance. It is highly probable, however, that after fulfilling that command and returning to Jerusalem, Jesus again appeared in order to give them final directions for beginning their work; this supposition quite explains how Luke, who knew of no Galilean appearances, thought the disciples had remained in Jerusalem all the time, and that the appearances had taken place there.[1] But it is quite evident that Jesus must have said expressly to the disciples, when He appeared to them for the last time, that it was the last time, for otherwise the sudden cessation of the appearances would have seemed inexplicable, and might have made their faith waver. It is evidently the recollection of such a last appearance, which took place on the Mount of Olives, that forms the basis of the account of the ascension (i. 6–8; comp. ver. 12). It is not improbable that on this occasion the disciples again asked about the earthly completion of the kingdom of God in the theocracy of Israel, and that Jesus, withholding from them the divine purpose, directed their attention to the calling which had been conferred on them, and to the preparation which would be necessary for it; even although the form which is given to his farewell words must certainly be imputed to the author. In any case, the disciples were assured by this farewell that Jesus had definitely concluded His earthly work, and would remain in heaven till His return (comp. Acts viii. 21). As all the appearances of the Risen One were intended to convince them by the evidence of their senses of the resurrection of His body, it is quite conceivable that His final departure from earth may have been evinced to them

[1] This idea is expressed in the statement that on Easter evening Jesus told the disciples to await the pouring out of the Spirit in Jerusalem (xxiv. 49; comp. Acts i. 4), which is apparently only a misapprehended reminiscence of the command to return to Jerusalem, where they would be fortified for the work which lay before them. On this entirely individual mistake of Luke criticism has based the arbitrary supposition that the records of the appearances of Jesus are at entire variance with each other, because in some the appearances in Galilee, and in others those in Jerusalem are excluded, whilst the Fourth Gospel impartially connects both.

by His vanishing into a cloud, and being raised with it to heaven. But, in the original sources, we have no verification of the manner in which Luke records this event (Acts i. 9; comp. i. 22); and the way in which he represents that God-given certainty was accorded them by an appearance of angels (i. 10 f.), was doubtless his own idea.[1]

Faith has ever regarded the ascension of Jesus as a very exceptional miracle; and that criticism which denies the miraculous has, with special assurance, in the name of our entire experience, protested loudly against this idea. Both proceed upon an equally erroneous assumption. Although He showed Himself to the disciples in a form palpable to the senses, the Risen One had not a material body, which could only have been lifted up by the destruction of gravitation; His glorified body was from the first removed beyond the conditions of earthly life. The celestial world, whose order of life Jesus at once adopted when He rose from the dead, is, according to the nature of things, exempt from the limiting conditions of earth, and does not bear the same relation to earth that a superior locality does to an inferior. In trying to show that this was a miracle distinct from that of the

[1] The unreasonable assumption that Luke, who records in the Acts of the Apostles that Jesus ascended to heaven after appearing for forty days, records in his Gospel that He ascended on Easter evening, is principally founded on what has lately been acknowledged to be a false reading in xxiv. 51, where Jesus vanishes blessing the disciples. If Luke really meant that this was the last parting, because he transferred the scene of it to the road to Bethany (xxiv. 50), it is evident that he has added to the narratives of Easter day a reference to the subsequent ascension to heaven, reserving the more detailed account for the second part of his work. We cannot ascertain whether the appearance "before all the apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 7) has anything to do with the farewell appearance on the Mount of Olives, especially as Luke only mentions the presence of the eleven, whereas Paul indicates the presence of a larger number. It only remains to be noted that the manner in which Paul adds the appearance to himself to the foregoing list (xv. 8), shows distinctly that the period of the appearances was considered to be past. The unauthentic conclusion of Mark, in which criticism discovers that Jesus ascended to heaven from a dining-room, contains no such narrative, but adds in quite dogmatic form to the farewell words of Jesus, the fact that Jesus was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God (Mark xvi. 19). Those farewell words, however (xvi. 15–18), are evidently a literary re-formation of the parting words of Jesus in the first Gospel (Matt. xviii. 20), which are there put in the mouth of the Christ who has already been raised to God's right hand, after which, of course, there neither follows nor can follow any ascension to heaven.

resurrection, it is useless to appeal to the apostolic announcement. For even where it evidently speaks of an ascension to heaven (1 Pet. iii. 22; Eph. iv. 8–10), it only thinks of the exaltation as being in connection with the resurrection. As certainly as Jesus rose in the body, *i.e.* in a glorified body, so certainly was He raised to heaven in that body which was destined for the heavenly life, and the apostles thought of Him as continuing to inhabit that glorified body in heaven (Col. ii. 9; Phil. iii. 21). In this sense Jesus' corporeal ascension is, of course, produced by His resurrection, and with this it stands and falls. To him who believes in a resurrection, as Scripture understands it, and who takes the resurrection of Jesus as a pledge thereof, and consequently believes in a real, and therefore corporeal existence beyond the grave, to him there is nothing in the ascension of Jesus to heaven which could be shown to be contrary to the divinely-appointed laws for the government of this world.

CHAPTER XII.

SITTING AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD.

ON the road to Damascus through the burning desert sand, a young Pharisee with his companions is journeying along; far beyond others of his own years and party, he is held in high esteem for his zeal for the ancestral precepts, and he surpasses all in his bitter enmity to the sect of the Nazarenes. Endowed with authority from the Sanhedrin, he purposes by energetic measures against the confessors of the Crucified One to crush the Messianic agitation which has started up afresh even in the Dispersion. But the fact is that this Saul of Tarsus dated his conversion from that journey to Damascus, and ascribed it to an appearance of the exalted Christ which he experienced on the way.

Frequent attempts have been made to find in the earlier life of Paul gradual preparations for a sudden change. Recently, however, all the art of psychological analyses has been employed to apprehend this appearance of Christ as a vision in which the gradually maturing conviction of the Messiahship of the Crucified One was victorious over all opposition, and created for itself a sufficient confirmation. Did Paul not believe in divine miracles, especially in the rising of the dead? did he not hope for the Messiah, who would probably be ultimately legitimized by some such miraculous token? Had he not long recognised the unsatisfactoriness of the Pharisaic standpoint, and struggled with an ideal which he himself should realize and yet never could? On the other hand, he saw in the Nazarenes a stedfast joyous faith which they would willingly seal in death; he heard the Scripture proofs for the necessity of Jesus' death and resurrection, against which, from his own standpoint, he could oppose nothing. It was only necessary for him to assume that the Messiah

must die on the cross, and such an idea might be proved even from the Old Testament; it was only necessary to acknowledge a fact which was attested on the ground of their own experience by men, reliable and zealous for the law, who would even die for their convictions, and which according to his own presuppositions was not unworthy of credibility; it was only necessary to do this, and his belief in the Messiahship of the Crucified One was decided. We are told that from his whole disposition he was inclined to visions and ecstasies, and that he sought through persecuting zeal to crush the internal struggle produced by the conviction which was rising within him; that desert journey, taken along with his bodily qualities, is said to have furnished the conditions for such a psychological phenomenon. In this vision Saul of Tarsus saw the Christ who had entered into celestial glory, summoning him to be a disciple.

It would not repay any one to undo this web of partially incontrovertible presuppositions. In the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul has himself acknowledged that previous to that day he was not in a position to receive or learn from men the gospel of Christ; that it was manifestly divine grace which, through means of a revelation, caused the knowledge of it to dawn upon him (Gal. i. 12–16). He always held the persecution of the Church to be the greatest sin of his life (1 Cor. xv. 9; Phil. iii. 6), but never indicates that it was in opposition to his better will and conscience that he struggled against the truth; the change in his convictions, which was accomplished at one stroke, he never rested upon grounds of reasoning—for the demonstrability of which he demanded recognition—but upon facts, upon the believing acceptance of which depended peace of soul and eternal salvation. There is therefore no possibility and no justification for explaining his faith in Christ by a vision produced in a purely psychological way, which somehow always assumes the faith it is said to generate. If the occurrence upon the road to Damascus, which effected his conversion, was a vision, it could only be one produced by God, or else it was an immediate demonstration of the exalted Christ.

It is seldom taken into account that this view of the "vision" hypothesis not only does not exclude the objective

fact of Christ's bodily resurrection and heavenly exaltation, but it directly requires it. We saw in the case of the early apostles that a mere vision of Christ could not produce faith in the fact of His resurrection (comp. p. 389 f.), and surely Paul was in a very different position from them. He had persecuted those who proclaimed this fact as liars and seducers; but the fact itself was well known to him as being the belief of his opponents. If a divinely-effected vision made him now certain that the Crucified One had been exalted to heavenly glory, then that proclamation of the Nazarenes did not rest upon a falsehood, but upon an undoubted truth—upon a fact. This vision could only have been given in order to convince him of this. If the assumption of the continued bodily existence of the Crucified One was really only a mistaken deduction from his Pharisaic presuppositions, then by granting him this vision God Himself had led him into this mistake.[1] In itself, indeed, a divinely-produced miracle may give assurance of an abstract truth by calling forth a conception somehow symbolizing it, as for example the well-known vision Peter beheld in Joppa (Acts x. 9–16); it can, as in the Baptist's vision (John i. 32–34), certify in an empiric way a fact which is not perceptible to the senses. In this case, however, as the purpose and result of the appearance show, it could only mean that Paul was assured by a divine revelation that the resurrection of Jesus in the body, which he had formerly disputed as being a falsehood, was an actual truth.

What renders the assumption of a mere vision, even in this aspect, impossible, is the way in which Paul refers to his experience near Damascus, as being of an altogether singular

[1] Besides, we have seen that Paul, in accordance with his Pharisaic presuppositions, could never have inferred Jesus' corporeal existence in heaven, since according to them he only knew of a return to temporal life. The polemic against the "vision" hypothesis in this form proceeds upon the conviction that through it the earlier appearances of Christ, which Paul puts alongside that to himself (1 Cor. xv. 5–7; comp. ver. 8), are degraded, although they were equally divine. But this is really not so. Paul says nothing whatever regarding the manner of them, for he refers to them as being well-known facts, just as he assumes that the one he beheld was known to his readers, seeing he had so frequently described it (1 Cor. ix. 1). But since for these others he refers expressly to tradition (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3–5), he can only have represented them to himself as they are related there; and how this happened the Gospels give no clue.

character (1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8). There is no doubt that Paul had frequent visions, and was subject to ecstatic conditions in which he heard heavenly voices, and saw himself removed from earth; but he did not readily speak of them as particular demonstrations of grace, but only when forced to do so by his opponents (2 Cor. xii.). This appearance of Christ, however, he joyfully acknowledged to be the attestation of his position as an apostle (1 Cor. ix. 1), while that same revelation was the cause of his conversion (Gal. i.). Visions had ever been regarded as a sign of the prophetic gift and of equipment with the Divine Spirit (Joel iii. 1); nor were they lacking in the apostolic Church. Many years after Paul's conversion, the writer of the Apocalypse beheld those glorious visions of Christ which he has described in the Book of the Revelation; Paul, however, described the appearance of Christ, which he beheld, as being the last of a series (1 Cor. xv. 8). There must therefore have been something singular about it, distinguishing it from other visions of Christ; considering its conjunction with the appearances of Christ made to the primitive apostles, the most natural explanation is that some kind of occurrence evident to the senses was combined with it. But even the account in the Acts of the Apostles, which is shown to be a somewhat free version from the variations in its threefold repetition (ix. 22, 26), gives us no means for defining it more exactly. All that we can say with certainty is that Paul did not, like the primitive apostles, behold Jesus in His human body, but in a form of light, and that this form he heard speaking to him. When, in opposition to this, appeal is made to the fact that the Epistle to the Galatians expressly mentions an inward revelation (Gal. i. 16), it is overlooked that if this treats of a sensuously observable appearance, it must be thought of as being accompanied by such a revelation. For it is involved in the nature of a divinely-effected vision as a spiritually perceptible occurrence, that what is beheld is apprehended also in the significance which it shall have for the recipient. On the other hand, the supersensuous corporality of the glorified Christ is, of course, not beheld and recognised by the senses; in whatever way, therefore, the exalted Christ represented Himself to Paul, without the

assurance of a divine revelation, he could never have been certain that in this appearance he had seen the Christ, who dwelt in heaven in corporeal form, and had heard His voice.

Paul was conscious that this appearance of Jesus called him not only to be a disciple, but more particularly to be the Apostle to the Gentiles. The success he met with on the missionary journey he undertook with Barnabas convinced him of this, and the original apostles unreservedly recognised his peculiar vocation (Gal. ii. 7 f.). During His earthly ministry it had been impossible for Jesus to take a mission to the Gentiles into consideration; in accordance with the divine decree of salvation, and the preparation for its fulfilment through Old Testament history, the kingdom of God had to be established in Israel. His own ministry and that of His disciples was devoted to Israel; if salvation had been realized there, then according to the prophetic promise the surrounding nations would have come of their own accord and joined the holy people. If true religion were once fully realized in the popular life of Israel, it could not fail that the mere sight of this would be a means of victoriously propagating the true faith. Even when it became more evident that the nation as a whole refused to acknowledge Him, Jesus only spoke of the time when many would come from afar to enter the kingdom of God (Luke xiii. 29), and when He would gather the sheep who were without the fold of the Israelitish theocracy, and draw them all to Himself (John x. 16, xii. 32). And even when He announced the transference of the kingdom from the Jews to the Gentiles (comp. Book VI. chap. x.), it was only under the presupposition that Israel continued disobedient and non-receptive. Jesus had long had in view, however, that through the divine act of His deliverance from death, and His exaltation to heaven, Israel would have another great impulsion to repentance and faith given it (Luke xi. 29 f.; John viii. 28). That was the reason why at the last supper He only thought of the apostles labouring among Israel, although they were to proclaim the message of salvation beyond the limits of the Holy Land, even into the Dispersion; He had distinctly in view no other propaganda in the Gentile world than such an unintentional one as the defence of the disciples before Gentile

tribunals would necessitate (Matt. x. 18; comp. p. 307). Only when the impenitence of the nation showed itself in respect of the preaching of the Risen One, could a distinct sending of the tidings of salvation to the Gentiles be thought of; but those apostles who were destined to labour in Israel could not quit their post before the divine judgment upon the people, which Jesus had threatened, had pronounced the condemnation of final obduracy. A new instrument had to be selected to carry out the divine purpose among the Gentiles; the day of Damascus was the divine answer to the obduracy of the people, which had been prepared for by the murder of Stephen and the persecutions following upon it.

The evangelic tradition has preserved the distinct remembrance that it was the exalted Christ, invested with divine authority as ruler, who sent His disciples to all nations (Matt. xxviii. 18 f.). Even Luke describes how it was the Risen One who first entrusted His disciples with this mission to the Gentiles (Luke xxiv. 47), and who, before His departure, expressly delayed the commencement of their mission in Israel (Acts i. 8). Even when Peter began his labours he only knew that God Himself would some day summon the Gentiles from afar (Acts ii. 39), and that through the seed of Abraham all the families of the earth would be blessed (iii. 25; comp. Gen. xxii. 18). When he was authorized by a divine revelation to surmount the restrictions which divided a son of Israel from the uncircumcised (x. 28, xi. 3), that he might receive the first Gentile into the Church (x. 29, 44–48), he never thought of its being a token that he should have the work entrusted to him; on recognising Paul as the Apostle to the Gentiles, he reserved for himself and the other early apostles the laborious task of sowing seed upon the thorny and stony field of Israel (Gal. ii. 7–9). It was his scholar Mark who, in view of those great results of Paul's mission to the Gentiles, which were manifestly effected by the exalted Lord Himself, first thought he could discover in words spoken by Jesus on earth prophetic references to the proclamation of the gospel to the Gentiles (Mark xiii. 10, xiv. 9); Luke, too, in the Acts of the Apostles, has endeavoured to prove that it was under the guidance of the

Risen Lord that Paul became the instrument through which the message of salvation was carried as far as the capital of the Gentile world. The Church, as a whole, never objected that it was the latest called of the apostles who, with his scholars and companions, first prepared the Gentiles for the gospel. But only when the divine judgment in regard to Israel was consummated with the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Jewish state, did the early apostles regard the injunction of the exalted Christ to spread the gospel among the Gentiles as being directed to them also.[1]

The mission to the Gentiles, and the transference to them of the kingdom of God which that effected, was rendered possible by the fact that the realization was begun by the apostles in the form of the congregation. This was what Jesus had in view ever after the day at Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 18); and this was what Peter understood the Master's will to be, and what after the day at Pentecost he began to carry out. But if the followers of Jesus were to be formed into a peculiar community, within the great congregation of Israel, there had of necessity to be some kind of covenant-sign, the reception of which would be the confirmation of entrance into the community, and make it as public as circumcision did the joining of the congregation of Israel. As such a sign, Peter from the first demanded the observance of the Johannine rite of baptism, which received, however, a totally new significance from the fact that immersion was not performed on the ground of a resolution to repent alone, but also on the ground of the confession of Jesus as the Messiah; that participation in the benefits of salvation was connected with it, which was already shared in by all believers in the Messiah, as well as the forgive-

[1] The assumption of the Tübingen school, that the early apostles disputed Paul's right to be called an apostle, and disagreed with him absolutely regarding the question of the mission to the Gentiles, is opposed to the clearest testimony of our sources, as well as to all the Old Testament presuppositions as to the participation of the Gentiles in the Messianic salvation. Concerning the question of the relation of the believing Gentiles to the believing Jews, the kernel of which was the different attitude of the two parties to the Mosaic law, Paul no doubt thought differently from them; but it was first made a subject of contention by a Pharisaically-disposed party in the Church, whose opposition to Paul, as well as their endeavours to disturb and destroy his work, can neither have been incited nor approved by the early apostles.

ness of sins, produced by the death of Christ, and the gift of the Spirit, which He promised should be bestowed in the Messianic age (Acts ii. 28). The Church of the Messiah was constituted when those who were won for the faith on the day of Pentecost were united by baptism to the tiny band of Jesus' original followers (i. 15, ii. 41). It is nowhere said that, during His sojourn upon earth, Jesus commanded the observance of this rite:[1] indeed, the first evangelist says unequivocally that it was the exalted Christ who first commanded His disciples to do so in order that those who became disciples should acknowledge God as the Father who had sent the Son, and had granted the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* that they should confess their belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, and the approach of the age of salvation, with which the endowment of the Spirit is connected (Matt. xxviii. 18 f.)

We cannot know whether Peter was granted a special revelation, or whether the Church, on the ground of the special commission entrusted to him (Matt. xvi. 18), regarded this regulation of his as the expression of the will of the Risen Lord. It was impossible that any doubt could arise as to whether the observance of the rite of baptism was in accordance with the wish of Christ; for the promise of the Spirit connected with it, but which could only be fulfilled by the exalted Christ (Matt. iii. 11; comp. Acts v. 31 f.), afforded a convenient method for ascertaining The fulfilment of this promise proclaimed itself to the individual, not only by a direct spiritual experience, but also in the manifold gifts of tongues, of prophesyings, of ability to perform cures, as well as the other endowments with which, in the apostolic age, the Spirit equipped the members of the Church for the fulfilment of their calling (Acts xix. 5 f.). No wonder that even Paul, who, though called late, had himself experienced this (Acts ix. 17 f.), never had a doubt regarding it, and even received by baptism into the Church of the Messiah those Gentiles who believed (1 Cor. i. 13). He

[1] It is characteristic of Keim's criticism, which rejects the most important of the evangelic traditions for the most paltry reasons, that he assumes an institution of baptism at the last supper, although our sources are completely silent as to anything of the kind having taken place.

regards it as a universally admitted fact of Christian experience, that through the communication of the Spirit in Christian baptism, believers from among the Gentiles as well as from among the Jews are united into an organic community (1 Cor. xii. 13), and introduced into a spiritual connection with Christ, in which the believer actually experiences in himself the dying of the old man and the resurrection of the new, to which John's baptism could only point symbolically (Rom. vi. 3–6). By this rite a circumcision, though in an incomparably higher sense, was performed on the members of the Messiah's Church, resembling that through which the members of the congregation of Israel were dedicated to Jehovah, and consecrated to His service (Col. ii. 11–13).

The matter was somewhat different with regard to the celebration of the sacrament. According to the Acts of the Apostles, there is no doubt that the breaking of bread at meals, which the members of a congregation partook of in common, was performed in remembrance of Jesus' last supper with His disciples (ii. 42). But we find that the oldest tradition says nothing of Jesus having expressly commanded them to do this (Mark xiv. 22–24). No doubt it was the general impression made by the celebration, which led the apostles to imitate it from the first, but it was impossible that Paul, who had not himself been a participator in that last supper, could have introduced a custom into his Gentile Christian Churches which was only commended by the tradition of the early apostles, and by their view of Christ's action in breaking bread. For this reason he must have received a special revelation from the exalted Christ; and, indeed, it is to such an one that he appeals, not, it is true, for the details of Jesus' action at the last supper, for sufficient particulars of that might be gathered from tradition, but for the religious significance of this solemnity, and more especially for Christ's express command to preserve it always in memory of Him (1 Cor. xi. 23–25; comp. p. 299 f., note). This was how he knew that the participation in the bread broken at this solemnity was the mediator, as he expressed it, of personal participation in the body of Christ, which was slain for us; and how partaking of the sacred

cup involved a personal participation in Christ's shed blood (1 Cor. x. 16 f.). To Paul the presenting in the Lord's Supper of this greatest of all gifts, through which to the believer is pledged afresh the forgiveness of sins, was something so certain and so entirely objective that he sees in a profane participation of the bread and wine, which lacks the religious disposition, a direct offence against the gift of Christ's body and blood therein received (1 Cor. xi. 27–29). What in the solemnity observed by Jesus had only been like a prediction for the disciples, is explained by Paul, on the ground of a revelation received from the exalted Christ, to affect in its fulfilment the whole Church. This led him to regard baptism and the Lord's Supper, with the gifts bestowed in them by the exalted Christ, as the fundamental experiences of grace, which shall be shared in by every believer, and for which, in his thoughtful way, he seeks for analogues in the experiences of the people of Israel (1 Cor. x. 2–4).

There is no doubt that for the Church of the Messiah this was the point where a new worship could be instituted. Of course, so long as this community was developed within the Jewish people this was not a necessity, for believing Jews had neither reason nor justification for separating themselves from the worship of the temple and the synagogue (Acts ii. 46 ; Jas. ii. 2). No doubt in their special meetings they had means for edification, not only in the love feasts with the solemnity of breaking bread, but also by what the apostles taught regarding the life of Jesus, and by their prayer in common for the Lord's return and the coming of His kingdom (Acts ii. 42). Even in the Gentile-Christian communities, alongside these specifically Christian elements of worship, there must have been adopted from the usage of the synagogue the reading and exposition of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. For the usual conduct of their life Jewish believers were bound from the first to observe the law of Moses, which circumcision laid them under an obligation to keep. Jesus had not said a word to liberate them from that duty; though the first evangelist lays special emphasis on the fact that the exalted Christ commanded the apostles to teach the new disciples that they must obey His precepts, but not the law of Moses (Matt. xxviii. 20). But

Jesus Himself had never proclaimed precepts of the divine will, in accordance with which the whole life was to be regulated, other than those that are revealed in the Old Testament; only, according to His teaching, that will was to be differently understood from the way in which the scribes and Pharisees explained it (Matt. v. 17–20). Where the manner of the fulfilment of the law taught by Jesus yielded any more definite directions for the forming of the relationships of life, even Paul went back anxiously upon His words (1 Cor. vii. 10, ix. 14). And yet it was he who first declared the believer to be free from the law because the Spirit which enlightens and animates, teaches him how to understand more perfectly the will of God revealed in the law, and enables him to fulfil it more completely than the law had ever been able to do. At the same time, however, he saw in it a sign that when a member of the circumcision was converted, he should remain a Jew as regards his modes of life (1 Cor. vii. 18), when higher duties did not make that impossible (1 Cor. ix. 21). The great dispute which agitated the apostolic age raged round the question whether the believing Gentiles should be subjected to the Mosaic law; and that question was not so easily answered as is frequently supposed. In regard to it even Paul and the early apostles did not always think alike, although they were able to effect a reconciliation. The dispute had an element of bitterness added to it by the fact that a Pharisaically-minded party gradually arose in the Church, which did not apprehend the liberal and spiritual character of Jesus' fulfilment of the law, but which, directly or indirectly, made that fulfilment the condition of salvation. But even this question was ultimately decided by the Risen Lord Himself when the fall of the temple announced that the centre of the Old Testament worship was destroyed, so that the believers saw themselves liberated from a compulsory compliance with the law. In regard to the outward organization of the Church, however, neither when on earth nor after His exaltation did Jesus give any directions. No hierarchy can base its claims upon Christ's commands or promises, although the ordinances which were developed historically are under the protection of the holy will of God, which requires that every human ordinance shall be

obedient to His will (1 Pet. ii. 13), thereby consecrating it a God-given one (Rom. xiii. 1 f.).

The Church has arisen from the congregation; and as the Preserver of the apostolic announcement as well as of the institutions with which the exalted Christ connected His greatest gifts of grace, her mission is still to plant and tend the spiritual life which Christ produces. But the work begun by Jesus on earth is not completed in His Church; it can only be the means of attaining the end He has had in view from the beginning—the perfecting of the kingdom of God upon earth, *i.e.* the perfecting, in accordance with the will of God, of the life of man in all its relationships, and the granting of the full measure of divine blessings and human prosperity. The endeavour to realize this ideal by the enlightenment of the understanding, or through the reanimation of ethical, indeed even of common spiritual *motives*, will always lead to bitter disappointment. The belief that the realization of this ideal has begun with the sending of Him, who with the divine vocation has also received the guarantee for the ultimate consummation of His work,—that is the new *motive* which Christ has left for a perishing world, and which even at the present day attests its effectual power to all longing souls. This faith sees in the sending of Christ the perfect revelation of the love of God who comes to a sinful world saving and redeeming, healing and blessing; in His death, the perfect sin-offering on the ground of which He can still offer grace and forgiveness to a sin-stained humanity; in His resurrection and exaltation, the guarantee for the completion of His work, which through the bestowal of the Spirit He carries out victoriously on all who believe on Him. But this belief is no mere theoretic acceptance of some doctrinal precept, it is a firm conviction which should be the impulsion to a constant renewal of the religio-ethical life; and therefore it requires the living presence of Him in whom has been perfected these divine acts of redemption, as well as a personal connection with Him who will be its Mediator and Surety to all eternity.

The first Gospel closes with a promise given by the exalted Christ, which guarantees to faith the continuous presence of the Highest, without which belief would be

singularly ineffectual (Matt. xxviii. 20). But, like the commands to baptize and to preach the gospel to the Gentiles (xxviii. 19), this promise was not given by Jesus during His life on earth. It is connected with an historical remark of His (xviii. 20), but it raises that above all limitations of time and all the waverings of human doubt which may affect historical tradition. Precisely because the exalted Christ only speaks to the community of believers, each individual can draw from the promise consolation and strength, victory and blessing in every struggle. For He to whom has been given all power in heaven and on earth (xxviii. 18) has said and says still: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

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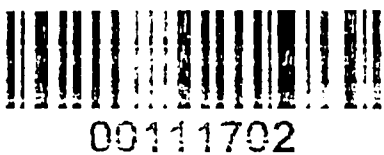
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